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The New REPUBLIC

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Merge and Submerge

The New Era in Industrial Consolidations

by JOHN T. FLYNN

Back to Red Hysteria!

by John Dos Passos

Two Principles of Education

by Caroline Pratt

MALCOLM COWLEY on *The Activities of New York's Vice Squad* II: "No Woman Is Safe"

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The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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The Week

EVERY time one of the economic medicine men of the administration has issued a prediction of prosperity, the stock market has fallen. Finally the Grand Llama himself, the great Andrew Mellon, incanted magic words, but with the same result. When stocks were going up, Andy could say anything and get away with it, but his best medicine is discredited when the gods of speculation frown. We venture to suggest that a different line of magic would work better on the market. When did the great crash of November finally arrive? Not during the long months when so many wiseacres were predicting it. It came, eventually, when the last skeptic was convinced that stocks would keep on rising forever, or at least when he became afraid to say publicly that they wouldn't. Unqualified optimism was necessary to bring deflation. And now, the more pessimism we can get, the nearer revival will be. When the last cheery soul is convinced that good times are not just around the corner, when we can go for a whole month or two without a single prediction of improvement, the turn will come. Prosperity is a shy nymph, and can best be wooed by turning our backs upon her.

WE ARE at a loss to understand the veto exercised by the Department of State on an order for military airplanes placed by Russia with a Baltimore business concern. The United States has no general embargo on arms and munitions. The fact that we do not recognize Russia has not interdicted exports to her. We have at times enforced an embargo on military supplies to factions in friendly nations threatened by revolution, on the ground that we did not wish to be parties to upsetting the stability of government. But Russia is not threatened by revolution, and these planes were ordered by the government itself. Does the State Department fear that Russia is likely to undertake aggressive war against us? Such a supposition is absurd. Does it fear the possibility of the use of Russian arms against some other friendly nation? There is far more reason, on such grounds, to place an embargo on shipment of arms to Italy. We cannot safely embark on a policy of favoritism in this respect; embargoes, if enforced at all, ought to rest on well defined international principles. The chief damage of the act is the dangerous interpretation which will undoubtedly be placed upon it by public opinion in Russia—that it is part of a conspiracy of capitalist nations to attack her. Russian opinion is being diligently warned of this eventuality. Why, in the name of peace, should we act as if it were true?

THE Department of Commerce continues its valuable series on the Balance of International Payments of the United States, with a report on 1929. The most striking features of this new report are noted by Secretary Lamont in his foreword: there was a reduction of $561,000,000 in our net export of capital during the year; this was partly responsible for a net inflow of gold, amounting to $307,000,000 during the fifteen months ended last October. Foreign nations are our debtors; we discourage payment in goods by our tariff, and when we do not offset their current indebtedness by new loans to them or their citizens, they are likely to have to pay partly in gold. But this combination of reduction in our foreign loans and the loss of

gold by other countries contributed to world-wide depression, to fiscal difficulties of some of the nations involved, and perhaps to the fall in prices. It was largely responsible for the present falling away of our exports. We have to keep up new lending in order to maintain healthy world trade, so long as we do not accept more goods in payment, or so long as there is no marked increase in our "invisible" exports, such as tourist expenditures or immigrant remittances. Anyone who thinks the foreign trade of the United States is not important both to our producers and our consumers should ponder the figures: our exports of commodities were valued at $5,490,000,000, and our imports at $4,756,000,000. We were, in 1929, far from the Chinese Wall ideal of protection; we did not consume everything we made, or make everything we consumed. Nor was there any good reason why we should have done so.

MORE significant than the battles in the present war in China is the seizure by the Northern allies of the Tientsin customs office and the appointment of a customs commissioner avowedly independent of the central customs authorities at Nanking. Some such further step was not unexpected in the long continued process of shifting control of the Chinese tariff and customs administration from foreign to purely Chinese hands. Hitherto, however, though the Chinese have successfully carried through the claim that the head of the customs administration in fact as well as in theory should be subordinate to their ministry of finance, the unity of the customs administration has been maintained through all the various civil wars. The customs revenue has, in fact, been the one solid financial bulwark of the Chinese government and the one dependable security for both foreign and domestic loans. In seizing the Tientsin customs office, the Northern allies have declared that funds would be set aside from the collections to meet the foreign obligations secured on the customs revenue. This will probably be done, at least for a time, but there is no guarantee even in the case of Yen Hsi-shan, who is more careful to keep his pledges than some of the other chieftains. The disruption of the customs administration, besides lessening the security of foreign obligations secured on the customs revenue, is likely to have a serious effect on the Chinese market, already much disturbed by the record fall of silver exchange. In the past couple of years, the Nationalists have floated over $500,000,000 (Chinese currency) in domestic loans secured on the customs. Without the Tientsin revenues, Nanking will hardly be able to continue meeting the payments on these loans. The direct effect on Chinese financial interests and the indirect effect on foreign trade will be serious.

IN SPITE of the best organized propaganda, independent-minded persons will sometimes spill the beans. The World Power Congress in Berlin represents in the international field the same private interests which, through the National Electric Light Association in this country, have done so much to shelter the predatory activities of the great power companies. Imagine, therefore, Mr. Samuel Insull's surprise and grief when he read, in an advance copy of a speech to be made to the Congress by Mr. Sackett, United States Ambassador to Germany, that the practice of selling current to retail consumers at fifteen times its cost of production was not an intelligent one, and led to a growing demand for public ownership of the sources of power. Mr. Sackett, moreover, was hardly an outsider; he had previously been in the utility business. Mr. Insull is used to bossing public officials in the United States, and, with characteristic nerve, he saw nothing improper in attempting to censor the words of an American Ambassador. He asked Mr. Sackett to revise the offending passages. But the copy was already in the hands of newspaper men, and, even if suppressed, it was bound to come out sooner or later. So Mr. Sackett decided to sail ahead and Mr. Insull withdrew his objection. The incident put the statement on front pages all over this country. Every day, power control becomes more a public issue.

NOW the tariff appears in another villainous role —as a stimulus to the waste of natural resources. Among the more obscure items of the Smoot-Hawley bill is a provision taxing imports of ores containing more than 3 percent zinc at a rate that was formerly applied only to ores containing more than 25 percent zinc. In other countries, this increase has been matched by agitation of German zinc producers for a tariff, and by the formation of the Imperial Smelting Company to maintain the lead and zinc production of the British Empire, with what really amount to subsidies of British mining companies. Recent discoveries of zinc deposits and improvements in the methods of production have already made the effective capacity of the world's zinc mines about 50 percent more than the record consumption of 1929. Addition of artificial stimuli to uneconomic production, such as the instances cited, will not help, and, in the case of exporting countries such as Mexico, Poland and Belgium, will only make the overproduction more serious. Within the last year, the price of the metal has dropped from 6.5 to 4.5 cents a pound, but production is still at a higher rate than shipments. Working forces have of course been reduced to a minimum, where the mines have not actually closed. Unemployment is rife in high-cost districts such as the so-called tri-state area in the Midwest. For the producers, salvation seems to lie in research that will lead to the discovery of new uses. But increased consumption is a solution for the producers only. It is not a solution for the public. Increased consumption only hastens the day when the limited reserves of zinc will be exhausted. The problem of zinc is the problem of every min-

eral. The present distressing condition of the zinc industry must make the question of governmental control of exhaustible natural resources more pertinent than ever.

BISHOP Cannon of Virginia has not improved his shopworn reputation by his scuffle with Representative George Holden Tinkham, who, in an address delivered June 17, made several grave charges against him, including that of having violated the Corrupt Practices Act. The Bishop immediately called Tinkham "a blustering cowardly congressman" for making these charges in the House of Representatives, where he is immune from prosecution for libel. Tinkham replied by divesting himself of congressional immunity: he issued a signed statement to the newspapers in which he repeated the gravest of his charges. But the Bishop was not satisfied with being publicly called "a shameless violator of the federal Corrupt Practices Act": he accused his opponent of begging the question; he demanded that Tinkham sign several copies of the whole speech and place them in the hands of persons designated by Cannon himself; then at last he would take action for libel. Tinkham has refused to issue further challenges, and it may be that the public dispute is at an end. On Bishop Cannon's side, at least, it reminds one of those backwoods quarrels in which a reluctant warrior puts a chip on his shoulder and says: "You don't dast knock it off." There is a harmless scuffle and the chip falls to the ground. Then, in a sudden lull, the reluctant warrior picks up the chip, replaces it on his shoulder, and says in a querulous voice, "You didn't knock it off. You pushed me, so you did, and it fell off. *Now* let's see if you dast knock this chip off my shoulder."

THE publishers' price war, discussed in The New Republic of June 4, is having a wide effect on publishing policy. Mystery League, Inc., a newly organized corporation, has announced that it will distribute detective novels through chain cigar stores and drugstores for fifty cents a copy. The Book of the Month Club has also issued a statement. There has been a sharp increase, it says, in the rate of cancellations, and there has been a sharp rise in the cost of getting new subscribers. "It is apparent," the statement goes on, "that book prices are now much more important to our subscribers than they have ever been. . . . We are compelled to recognize this altered situation, and make a change in our system to meet it." This, coming from the Book of the Month Club, which has always appealed for subscribers on the basis of service, not of price, is a significant admission. As for the change in policy, it consists partly in paying less money to the publisher of the book chosen each month, and partly in offering a 20-percent discount to subscribers, in the form of a credit coupon which may be applied to the purchase of future books. It becomes increasingly evident that publishers' profits, never very excessive, are going to be further reduced during the next year, that the sixty-four "dollar novels" announced for fall publication are not an isolated phenomenon, and that the general level of book prices is going to be lower.

WHEN a college falls under the rule of a reactionary president or board of trustees, a conflict is certain to ensue. There is always a modicum of students and faculty members who are willing to fight for academic freedom; and now and then such a fight becomes dramatic, with torch-light processions, meetings broken up, expulsions and resignations, and columns printed about it in the local newspapers. The more normal course, however, is a less spectacular one. Day by day there is quiet, ceaseless pressure on the faculty to conform, to avoid discussing troublesome questions or to dismiss them lightly. The teacher who refuses to be good finds his advancement blocked, his salary is not increased, he is forced to do all routine work at the least convenient hours of the day. Finally he gives up, and seizes the first opportunity to escape to a more congenial atmosphere. The equally troublesome students follow him, and the institution is left to self-satisfied dry rot.

SOMETHING of this sort has been happening in the University of Pittsburgh. Under Chancellor Bowman, obsessed with his naïve idea of a college in a skyscraper to the exclusion of all else, "Pitt" has become no place for those interested in the free discussion of all the important ideas afloat in the world today. Two good men—Colston E. Warne and W. Ellison Chalmers of the Economics Department—have just resigned from the faculty to go to Amherst and Wisconsin respectively, after repeated conflicts with Chancellor Bowman had taught them that there was little hope that an honest man could teach honestly at Pitt. No one can blame Messrs. Chalmers and Warne, or the other good men who have preceded them. Yet a few more such resignations, and Pitt will sink to the complacent mediocrity of another Clark.

MODERN methods of transportation, by their very abundance. sometimes defeat the ends for which they were invented. In New York City, for example, it is often quicker and easier to walk to one's destination than to take a cross-town street car, or even a taxicab. In the suburbs of Boston, the horse has once more become the fastest means of locomotion, as was proved amusingly on the last anniversary of Paul Revere's ride. Two men, one on horseback and one in an automobile, followed his route from the Old North Church to Lexington Green. The motorist took the lead and held it until he was almost in sight of the finish line. But there were too many traffic lights and too much congestion; the automobile was halted for infringing a traffic regulation, the horseman thundered past to win by four minutes, and to

shout, "The Redcoats are coming!" It was lucky for the good people of Lexington that there were no hostile British troops in Boston. Perhaps, after cutting the telephone wires and seizing the radio stations, the Redcoats on foot could have made the trip faster than either the automobile or the horse.

A VASTLY more serious criticism of modern traffic conditions is found in the statistics of automobile accidents. Because of such accidents, 31,000 persons died in the United States last year, and a million were injured. Accidental deaths from all other causes are declining, but these are increasing at the rate of more than 10 percent annually, which is faster than the number of cars on the road is growing. Despite educational campaigns, improved laws and better mechanical methods of traffic control, the number of fatalities per 100,000 of population is now almost double what it was ten years ago. The figures suggest that cars are perhaps driven faster or more recklessly than formerly, that each one is in operation for a larger proportion of the time, or that, as a result of traffic congestion, the likelihood of accident increases in something like a geometrical ratio while the number of cars is augmented only in an arithmetical progression. Certainly, the loss of 31,000 lives a year seems to merit more interest and keener efforts at prevention than it is getting. We must remember, moreover, that some thousands of these deaths, at least, could easily and simply be prevented. There are still a few states which do not require any sort of examination or license to drive a car; in these backward commonwealths the accident rate is about twice as high as in the rest of the country, and is increasing even more rapidly.

Temporizing with India

THE publication of the second volume of the Simon Report is a crushing blow to those who had hoped that it might have an important effect in ending the terrible situation which exists in India. It is a revealing fact that the name of Mr. Gandhi does not appear in the second volume at all, and in the first only in two or three casual by-references. As the authors say in their final statement, all the conclusions in the report had been reached before the outbreak of the present trouble, and no alterations have been made because of it. There may be something to say for such a procedure scientifically, but there is nothing to say for it politically. A document has been produced which might have been of some value ten years ago, or even five, but is absolutely useless today. Even the moderate opinion in India will reject it. If the conference is held next autumn in London as planned, it must certainly throw the Simon Report overboard at the beginning if it is to accomplish anything. Publication of this document has in fact made it less likely that the conference will ever be held, or that any attempt will be made to solve India's troubles except by force—if we may define that word to include the sheer weight of passive opposition by many millions of people.

At a time when even the most moderate Indians are asking flat and definite promises of immediate steps toward full Dominion status, at the very least, the Simon Commission publishes a report the net effect of which is to bind India tighter than ever to the British chariot wheel. If this report were put into effect, both the British provincial governors and the British Governor-General would have tremendous powers. The provincial governors, just as at present, would be able to dismiss their cabinets of native ministers at any time and take over the full duties of government for themselves. They would be specifically charged with the authority to carry out the orders of the central government, and all laws of every sort, whether their ministers wished it or not. The Simon Commission, anticipating criticism of this feature, urges on its behalf that it would be put into effect only in emergency, and that under ordinary conditions the dyarchy (the system whereby certain subjects are reserved for British administration) would be abolished. But it is plain that self-government only during fair weather is not self-government at all, and the Indians have enough intelligence to recognize that fact.

Another serious weakness of the plan is that members of the all-important Central Legislative Assembly would be elected, not by popular vote, but by the members of the provincial legislatures. They would be chosen on a basis of proportional representation in order to provide spokesmen for the religious and racial minorities. While this seems fair, critics of the Simon plan say that it is an attempt to break up the Legislative Assembly into small blocs which will fight each other futilely while the British continue to govern. At the same time, control of the army would be taken away from India once and for all and given to London, as an Imperial matter.

An attempt is made to meet the problem of the Native States by having a Council for Greater India, which would include representatives both of British India and of the States. This council would have "consultative and deliberative functions," with regard to a stipulated list of "matters of common concern." Assuming that the Native States would send representatives to the Council—an assumption which for some of them is probably incorrect—it would have some value. It is always useful to get men to come together and discuss who otherwise would never see each other face to face. But as meeting the demands of the Indians the plan is ludicrously inadequate.

All these details, however, are of little importance, except as they bear upon the tendency of the report as a whole. As we have already said, concessions which might have meant something five or ten years ago are meaningless today. Twenty-four hours before the second volume of the report was

made public, Mr. Negley Farson, correspondent in India of The Chicago Daily News, cabled to his paper a description of last Saturday's riots in Bombay, from which we quote a few sentences:

> Heroic, bearded Sikhs, several with blood dripping from their mouths, refusing to move or even to draw their *"karpans"* (sacred swords) to defend themselves from a shower of *lathi* blows—
>
> Hindu women and girls dressed in orange robes of sacrifice, flinging themselves on the bridles of horses and imploring mounted police not to strike male volunteers, as they were Hindus themselves—
>
> Stretcher bearers waiting beside little islands of prostrate, unflinching, immovable *Satyagrahis* who had flung themselves on the ground grouped about their women upholding the flag of *Swaraj*—
>
> These were the scenes on the Maidan Esplanade today. . . .
>
> Dark-faced Mahratti policemen in their yellow turbans marched along in column led by English sergeants across the field toward the waiting crowd. . . . Crash! Whack! Whack! Whack! At last the crowd broke. Only the orange-clad women were left standing beside the prostrate figures of crumpled men. . . .
>
> A minute's lull and then, with flags flying, another column of volunteers marched onto the vast green field. A column of Mahrattis marched to meet them. They clashed . . . and again there was the spectacle of the green field dotted with a line of fallen bodies. . . . Here sat a little knot of men, their heads bowed, submitting to a rain of *lathi* blows—refusing to move until completely laid out. . . .
>
> I stood within five feet of a Sikh leader as he took the *lathi* blows. He was a short, heavily muscled man. The blows came—he stood straight. His turban was knocked off. . . . He closed his eyes as the blows fell—until at last he swayed and fell to the ground. No other Sikhs had tried to shield him, but now, shouting defiance, they wiped away the blood streaming from his mouth. . . . [Restored to consciousness] the Sikh gave me a smile and stood up for more.

In this episode of a single day in a single city, five hundred men stood and let themselves be battered into unconsciousness by the police, without lifting a finger in self-protection. They did this because they believe in "non-violent non-coöperation." Their action is a sufficient indication of the depth of the passion for freedom which the British are now combating. We wonder how many readers of The New Republic there are who care deeply enough for any cause to suffer for it what these Indians did?

Bombay is the answer to the Simon Report. India today demands, in Gandhi's phrase, substantial independence—not necessarily in the form of complete freedom, but with nothing less than genuine Dominion status. The Simon Report gives her no such thing, now or in the near future. It is still possible that the conference may be held next autumn in London, and that it may produce some basis for agreement, but if so, it will be in spite of the Simon Report and not because of it. This document on which so much labor has expended is dead at birth; and the Indian revolution will ignore it and go on.

Chicago's Traction Problem

THE city of Chicago is confronted with another crisis in the entertaining serial story of its relations with the local transportation companies. Even a summary of preceding chapters would take too much space to produce here. It is enough to say that after Yerkes' attempt at the capture of the city, which was defeated by Mayor Harrison's veto after it had been eased through the legislature and the city council, there was a bitter reaction against the corruption of local and state politics for which the traction interests were responsible. This sentiment gave strength to the demand for municipal ownership, for which the city expressed its preference by popular vote. The ordinance of 1907 was passed in contemplation of this final result. It continued the franchises of the surface lines for twenty years, and during this time allotted to the city 55 percent of the net income to form a city traction fund, which might be used for the purchase of the properties. The twenty-year limitation of the franchise, however, made it difficult for the existing companies to finance the necessary extensions in the rapidly growing city. Twice since 1907 have efforts been made to arrive at a more satisfactory settlement. In 1918 and in 1925 new ordinances were submitted to popular vote, and each was defeated by a combination of those who believed that it went too far, or did not go far enough in the direction of municipal ownership, of those who thought that it did not promise enough in the way of improvement of service and those who feared that it promised too much. Probably the 1925 ordinance, which went farthest in the direction of municipal ownership, was defeated by certain interests of the outlying districts which did not want too easy transit to the Loop; but supporters of municipal ownership who refused to take the half loaf offered at that time contributed to the result, and have a heavy responsibility in the face of the present ordinance—for this is indubitably the worst of the three, and if passed will defeat forever the "I will" of Chicago on the subject of municipal ownership.

The present ordinance, which will be submitted to popular vote on July 1, provides for the unification of the local transportation companies, including the Rapid Transit Company which operates the elevated lines. It grants the single resulting company a franchise terminable on six months' notice by the city in favor of itself, or of some other company as permittee, on condition of reimbursing the present owners on a valuation of $260,442,063.82 as of August 1, 1929, plus the cost of extensions and improvements since that date. The company is required to spend on specified extensions $65,000,000 within three years, and $200,000,000 within

ten, the city meanwhile agreeing to build certain subways for the use of the company, paying for them by special assessments on property benefited, and out of the traction fund of some $62,000,000, painfully accumulated since 1907. The city is to receive, in lieu of the present 55 percent of net, 3 percent of the gross income (junior to interest on bonded indebtedness and preferred stocks), and also all sums earned by the company in excess of a reasonable return on its capital valuation. These payments, together with the present traction fund, are to constitute the City Transit Trust Fund, controlled by a Trustee, which if not expended in subways or otherwise, may *complete the final purchase* of the property of the company.

The ordinance is worse than its defeated predecessors in view of the valuation placed upon the property of the company of some $260,000,000. The basis of this sum is an estimated valuation of $55,000,000 in 1907. Most of the property represented by this sum, including cars, tracks, cables, horses and unexpired franchises, has worn out and disappeared, but the securities issued against it have never been amortized, and hold a place of honor in the financial structure of the new company. This valuation of $260,000,000, to be increased within ten years by $200,000,000, constitutes a permanent barrier to purchase of the property either by the city or by another permittee. The dream of public ownership goes glimmering; and the ordinance, instead of granting a terminable franchise, in effect grants a permanent one.

This is a fundamental objection. Another is that the city traction fund, which has been accumulated out of increased fares paid by the public, is to be turned over to the company, in the form of subways rent free. Another is that fares are almost certain to be increased. The present fare of seven cents takes passengers into the Loop by the surface cars, with no transfer to the elevated lines. Under this ordinance, transfer to the rapid-transit lines is permitted for a fee of three cents. But as most surface lines will no longer reach the Loop, such transfer will usually be obligatory, and the fare to the center of the city will be ten cents. Moreover, so long as local transportation remains a private monopoly, these fares may be further increased. One of the provisions of the ordinance of 1907 was that the fare should be five cents. By permission of the state public-utility commission and the courts the fare was raised to seven cents. The Supreme Court has lately held in the Baltimore traction case that a reasonable return on capital invested is 7.5 percent. At present the Chicago companies are earning about 6.26 percent on the estimated value. Again, it is not certain that the extensions agreed upon will be made, if the city is unable to carry out the subway program or the company unable to market its securities. In any case the compensation to the city computed at 3 percent of the gross will, upon present earnings, be less than it receives as 55 percent of the net.

To these objections there is one ready reply: What can the city do about it? If it refuses to ratify the present ordinance it will deprive itself of proper transportation facilities for years to come, and it may in the end get a worse deal. The situation illustrates perfectly the dilemma of a public body in contracting for necessary services with corporations supported at every point by the courts, whose chief concern is to protect private capital. Even the sacredness of contract goes down the wind (as in the case of the five-cent fare obtained by the ordinance of 1907) when it affects the right of a public-utility corporation to earn a "reasonable return" on its investment—and of necessity—because such "reasonable return" is necessary to enable it to raise money to carry on and extend its service. In the present instance, however, the interference of the courts is particularly offensive. Federal Judge Wilkerson has been imported into the case by reason of a bondholders' suit, and the ordinance is introduced under the specious patronage of a so-called Citizens' Committee appointed by him. With a fine sarcasm not lost on citizens of Chicago, he has made the chairman of this committee, whose function is the protection of the city's property in its streets, Mr. James Simpson, active genius of Marshall Field and Company, whose most recent exploit was to buy from the Thompson administration, for a ridiculously small sum, the alley dividing the Field retail stores. Mr. Simpson is also a member of the executive committee of the Commonwealth Edison Company, which supplies power to the elevated lines. He represents the business interests which have been in alliance with the Barrett-Thompson ring, to which alliance a victory for the present traction ordinance will bring increased power and prestige. The citizens of Chicago have one weapon of defense against interests which in the past have proved selfish and corrupt, and which in the present instance make an approach so marked by disingenuousness and subterfuge. That weapon is the ballot. Among all the perplexities and uncertainties of the situation it is better that the city should preserve its control—and its self-respect—by defeating the ordinance.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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Back to Red Hysteria!

SINCE April 1 there have been about four thousand arrests in the United States of members of the Communist party, alleged Communists, or working people attempting to go to meetings on subjects considered "radical" or "dangerous" by the police. Many of the arrests were for distributing leaflets or speaking in connection with the March 6 or May 1 demonstrations. In New York, William Z. Foster and Robert Minor are both in jail on convictions resulting from the unemployment demonstrations. There have been arrests in California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Tennessee and in widely separated districts all over the country. The most important cases now being fought by the International Labor Defense (occasionally with the help of the American Civil Liberties Union) are the following:

The Newark Case

The Communist party's candidate for Senator for New Jersey, an ex-preacher named Dozier W. Graham, and Domenico Flaiani were convicted under the sedition laws for speaking at a Communist meeting for organizing the unemployed, but were given suspended sentences. The interesting feature of the trial was that a defense witness named Langer was not allowed to testify because the judge ruled that an atheist who did not believe in rewards or punishments after death was incapable of taking the oath. The form of affirmation was ruled to apply only to Quakers or others who had religious scruples against swearing.

The Chester Case

Two young Communists arrested in front of the Viscose Mill at Marcus Hook near Chester, Pennsylvania, for distributing leaflets protesting against unemployment conditions were held under the Flynn Sedition Laws. Ray Pelz, twenty-three, was sentenced to pay a $5,000 fine, and to one to twenty years in the county jail, and Thomas Holmes, who was only eighteen, was sentenced to not less than eighteen months in the Huntington Reformatory. The court cast doubts on the mental fitness of Holmes (and of all who believe in the overthrow of the capitalist system), and there is danger that he may be sent to an insane asylum. They were convicted on the evidence of an "expert" named Lenon, who has testified at other radical trials and who somehow got into the evidence a quotation from Radek about overthrowing the government by force.

The Imperial Valley Cases

These constitute the first revival in six years of the California Criminal Syndicalism Act of 1919. The Agricultural Workers' Industrial League, a Communist-controlled organization, has been organizing the migratory workers who handle the crops in the Imperial Valley. Fair success against the lettuce growers encouraged them to organize a strike against the cantaloupe growers, who retaliated by hiring three stool pigeons to join the organization. Their revelations were the basis of the charges, one of which was conspiracy to overthrow the government and ruin the cantaloupe crop. Every effort was made to stir up sentiment against the Reds through the press, and by the usual parade of deputies armed to the teeth. Nine men were found guilty. Judge Johnson gave five of them the maximum sentence of one to fourteen years on each of three counts, to run consecutively, meaning that the state of California can keep them in jail forty-two years, if they live that long.

The Atlanta Case

On the afternoon of March 9, the Communist party attempted to hold a meeting in a hall on Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia. The meeting had been widely advertised through the distribution of leaflets, one of which showed a picture of a Negro and a white worker shaking hands. A little before the meeting was scheduled to begin, Police Captain Fain drove up to the door and began telling Negroes on the street not to go into the hall. Then, when Robert M. Hart, the chairman, got up to call the meeting to order, Captain Fain called him to the door and asked, "Who's the boss here?" He was told that the meeting had been arranged by M. H. Powers, Communist party organizer. Powers and a young man named Carr came up and argued with the police captain, claiming that the meeting was legal, but were taken off to the police station. Meanwhile, Hart told the audience they had a right to stay there. At the police station, Powers and Carr were released by Chief of Police Beavers, as no charge was brought against them. While they were on their way back to the hall, a man, who the police later admitted was a detective, dropped a tear-gas bomb in the aisle, and the men in the hall started running out. At that moment Carr arrived, breathless, and shouted from the door that there'd been no charges and that the meeting was legal. Whereupon he was grabbed by a cop, was called a "damned Russian Red," and rearrested. When Powers reached the door, he also was ar-

rested again, and the hall was cleared. This time they were held for "disorderly conduct and throwing a tear-gas bomb," but the charges were changed in a few days to "inciting to insurrection and distributing insurrectionary papers," on which charge the Grand Jury indicted them under a statute passed in 1861 as a Confederate measure against "Negroes, slaves and free persons of color" who might incite the slaves to insurrection. "Distributing insurrectionary papers" probably referred to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. Then, in 1866, under the carpet-bagger administration, the statute was amended to exclude the word "slaves" and include white men, aiming at attempts of insurrection against the federal government. The statute has never been used from that day to this, and even in the Reconstruction period, I believe that there was only one indictment under it. The statute carries the penalty of death for inciting to insurrection, and of five to twenty years in jail for circulation of insurrectionary papers. That the authorities are going to try for the maximum penalty is shown by a remarkable statement to the press by Assistant Solicitor-General John M. Hudson, who said among other things:

> As fast as these Communists come here and publicly preach their doctrine of violent opposition to the laws of this state, we shall indict them and I shall demand the death penalty in every case.
>
> Before any other Communists undertake to come into our state and preach their revolutionary gospel, they would be wise to investigate our laws. They have plenty of teeth in them. I know of no stronger similar laws in the whole country. We will not tolerate Communists in Georgia.

Carr and Powers have been held without bail since their arrest, and for some reason Carr, a boy of nineteen, has been kept incommunicado in the death cell. Four additional indictments have been returned under this law: Mary Dalton, twenty, organizer for the National Textile Union, and Ann Burluk, nineteen, of the International Labor Defense, and two young Negroes were arrested on May 22 at a meeting of the American Negro Labor Congress. Two white residents of Atlanta, arrested at the same time, were released, but the Northern girls and the two Negroes were held for trial under the same charges as Powers and Carr.

Anyone who knows the bitter sentiment in Georgia against the labor organizations, and particularly against the assumption of racial equality in labor organizations, will realize how easy it will be to get a conviction, in spite of the youth of the defendants and the extremely thin evidence upon which they are held. Local American Federation of Labor officials, there as everywhere anxious to get rid, at any cost, of the Communists who are undermining their authority, seem to be wholeheartedly in support of the prosecution.

Furthermore, Atlanta business men are in a bitter mood; unemployment is growing there, and, according to Atlanta Life, "business conditions are worse than at any time since Reconstruction days." Various attempts by local boosters to keep their spirits up—such as the Junior Chamber of Commerce's Progress and Prosperity Parade—have turned out to be flops of the bitterest sort and have only added to people's uneasiness. All this will make it much easier to stage a race panic and send these young Communists to the electric chair.

It looks as if, particularly with unemployment increasing (it seems to me a curious and sinister detail that newspaper headlines now almost invariably speak of unemployed workers as "the idle," as if there were something innately vicious about not having a job) and Hoover prosperity severely shaken, to say the least, the struggle against working-class radicalism of the American governors and owners were going back to the acute stage of 1919. Now the arch-enemy is Communism instead of the I. W. W. One important question in connection with this fight is the attitude of the middle-class liberals. In 1919 we were hog-tied by War psychology and many of us were actually in the army, and, therefore, helpless, or else too muddle-headed, as a result of a series of stunning blows against our political faith, to take any attitude at all. Now we have no such excuse. By middle-class liberals I mean everybody who isn't forced by his position in the economic structure of society to be pro-worker or anti-worker. They are the only class to which neutrality is possible in any phase of the struggle. I don't know if they can have much effect on the outcome, but their attitude certainly can affect the conditions under which the fighting is carried on. If they are genuinely neutral, they can at least demand that the war be fought under the most humane conditions possible. What is our attitude (I speak as a writer, and therefore as a middle-class liberal, whether I like it or not) about it going to be? Even neutrality, with the major organs of information in the hands of the government and the industrialists, is going to be difficult, and to many even the coolest neutrality is going to look like Red radicalism.

JOHN DOS PASSOS.

Persimmons

Such music as is left in the year's throat,
This byway holds, for here a scrap of air,
Like fiddler picking at a high, sole note,
Picks till it snaps, begins another there.
Propped by the palings, a lit fagot, thinned
To a cramped place, yet in an orange blaze,
Just stirred by the small fingering of the wind,
Stands a short tree. Soon, from up-country ways,
A market cart will halt below the wall,
And black folk gather, so that none be lost,
The split fruit from the drying, battered grass;
Shake down the rest, and having packed them all—
Wares rich with the strange whipping of the frost—
Whine through the little wind and townward pass.

LIZETTE WOODWORTH REESE.

Merge and Submerge

The New Era of Industrial Consolidations, and the Relation to It of the Investment Trusts

THE MERGER has had its share of space in the news. The phenomenon is familiar to everyone. But I doubt if the American public has any conception of the extent to which the process has carried the concentration of control of industry. It has gone so far that the president of one of the largest and most powerful mergers—Mr. James Farrell of the United States Steel Corporation—has, in the very week I write this, sounded a note of warning to business. Mr. Farrell, talking to his fellow steel masters, expressed grave fear that we are driving in the direction of too much size, that we are becoming too big, that we are, in fact, forming industry into such giant units that very soon we will be "just a half-dozen big concerns in each industry dealing with each other."

One catches almost a note of apprehension in the voice of this man who has been president of a billion-dollar corporation for years—apprehension born of close contact with the immensity of the task of supervising and ruling so vast a machine. I note this merely to emphasize the speed and extent of the movement—a speed and extent so great that it frightens the men who sit in the center of the whirlwind and direct the storm. I must not be set down as criticizing the movement. I believe the creation of large-scale operating units in industry is altogether in the direction of sound progress. How big we can safely make them is a point not yet settled. But because the thing is economically and mechanically sound it will go forward—perhaps too far—and nothing can stop it.

The public—even the observing and thinking public—has little conception of how far this merger movement has gone. Last year I heard a Chamber of Commerce orator describe our railroad system as a collection of roads owned by over 1,500 corporations, and this was offered as an evidence of the widespread ownership and decentralized control. There is much of this kind of oratory heard in the land. There were in 1928 some 1,566 separate corporations owning about 280,000 miles of railroad. However, a different face is put upon this fact by a brief examination. Of this 280,000 miles of road, 250,000 miles are operated by the Class I roads, which are only 169 in number. In other words, these 169 roads own 91 percent of the whole. Agitation goes forward to group these roads into some twenty-one systems under the direction of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and that body has laid out a grouping which the roads are expected to follow in their future consolidation plans.

This may seem to be a very drastic application of the merger theory to the roads, but it is not any more drastic than the mergers which are already in effect for all practical purposes, and under which the Class I roads are actually arranged into twenty-two systems. However, much has been done in accordance with the Interstate Commerce Commission's plan. Several systems, notably the Van Sweringen, the Baltimore and Ohio, and the Wabash, have accepted the plan in its general outlines, and several others have proceeded rather far in carrying it out, notably the Missouri Pacific, which has in almost every respect completed the consolidation laid down by the Commission. But no sooner is this done than we see the irresistible tide of consolidation move forward and the complete Missouri Pacific merger driven into the Van Sweringen system. In other words, if we are to credit the signs, it looks as if railroad consolidation will not stop at the twenty-one systems outlined by the government, but will go on until these systems, by means of the holding company, have been still further reduced in number.

The United States Steel Corporation now seems a bit old. Yet it represents a series of mergers to which additions were made this year. It illustrates strikingly the possibilities of the merger movement in a great basic industry, and a mere list of the companies put together will serve to make clear the force and importance of this phenomenon.

The process of creating this great corporation began before its organization with some smaller mergers.

> Thus the Federal Steel Company was a merger of: Illinois Steel Company, Minnesota Iron Company, Lorain Steel Company, Elgin, Joliet and Eastern R. R. Company, Johnson Company of Pennsylvania. The Carnegie Steel company was a merger of Carnegie and Frick interests. The American Steel Hoop Company was a consolidation of nine corporations. National Tube Company was a consolidation of thirteen companies. Lake Superior Iron Mines owned Duluth, Missabe and Northern R. R. and Bessemer Steamship Company. American Steel and Wire Company was a consolidation of a majority of the country's wire mills.
>
> All these companies were then put together with the following: National Steel Company, American Tin Plate Company, American Sheet Steel Company, American Bridge Company, Shelby Steel Tube Company.

Out of this aggregation of corporations came the United States Steel Corporation. And many other companies were acquired from time to time!

When the United States Steel Corporation was formed, it controlled 66 percent of the output of steel ingots. Today, however, it controls only 40 percent of the output. This is not because it has grown smaller. It has grown amazingly. When organized it turned out 7,000,000 tons of ingots. Last year it produced 25,000,000 tons. But all the while the merger movement has been operating among its rivals. And as a result, the steel industry of the country, which appears to be controlled by 217 corporations, is today actually in the hands of 25 corporations into which these other 217 corporations are merged. Indeed, five corporations dominate 84 percent of the steel output.

Among the large nationally known producers of foods, I find 119 corporations merged into fifteen. Two of the most recent are the General Foods Corporation and Standard Brands, Inc.

General Foods Corporation brought together the following companies—all of them well known, large in themselves and makers of nationally advertised products:

> Postum Cereal Company, Iglehardt Brothers, Inc., Minute Tapioca Company, Canadian Postum Company, Ltd., Walter Baker and Company, Inc., Jello Company, Inc., Franklin Baker Company, which controls Vitapack Corporation and Franklin Baker, Ltd., Richard Hellmann, Inc., Log Cabin Products Company, Towle Maple Products Company, LaFrance Manufacturing Company, Calumet Baking Powder Company, Certo Corporation, Diamond Crystal Salt Company, North Atlantic Oyster Farms, Inc., Cheek-Neal Company, Maxwell House Products Company, Inc., General Seafoods Corporation.

Standard Brands brought together:

> The Fleischmann Company, Royal Baking Powder Company, L. W. Gillett Company, Ltd., Chase and Sanborn, Inc., American Diamalt Company, and various Fleischmann subsidiaries, as well as various subsidiaries of the Royal Baking Powder Company.

A single vast collection of corporations in the drug industry controls an immense and important volume of trade. Recently the United Drug Company and Sterling Products were brought together under a holding company known as Drugs, Inc. Later Household Products, Inc., was taken in. Later Drugs, Inc., acquired B. and R. Drug Stores, Inc., May Drug Stores, Inc., Life Savers, Inc., Bristol Myers Company, Wolff Wilson Drug Company, Three-in-One Oil Company, Owl Drug Company.

This combination owns and controls the National Cigar Stands Company, the great Liggett chain of retail drug stores, and its arrangement for the supply of several thousand Rexall Stores. In England it owns Boots the Cash Chemist, a chain with 800 stores. However, its great business is the manufacture of drugs. It controls Seamless Rubber Company, Hudson Valley Pure Food Company, Absorbent Cotton Company, Marcus Ward, Sherman Envelope Company and many other corporations.

Because of its application to this subject, I give here a table of figures about mergers which I used before in a series on investment trusts in The New Republic. This table contains the name of the industry, the number of corporations operating it, the number of larger corporate units which control it and the market value of their stock as of December 31, 1929:

Industry	Number of Companies	Controlling Companies	Market Value
Copper	67	12	$1,450,000,000
Chemicals	189	17	1,902,177,000
Agricultural Implements	87	10	641,899,000
Iron and Steel	217	25	2,114,115,000
Automobiles	187	23	2,630,359,000
Tires, Rubber	115	13	945,062,929
Electrical Equipment	71	11	2,319,000,000
Food Products:			
Baking and Flour	95	9	637,090,000
Candy, Soft Drinks	43	9	392,595,000
Dairy Products	236	6	530,118,000
Foods	119	15	1,471,142,000
Meat Packing	203	8	291,049,000
Railroad Equipment	131	17	845,139,000
Telephone and Telegraph	627	3	4,433,643,000
Films	74	6	393,296,000
Auto Equipment	160	33	658,784,000
Total	2,621	217	$21,655,468,929

Of course, it is not true that the corporations in every industry given here wholly control that industry. In the food industry, for instance, there are still a large number of private-brand producers and small factories who account for a very large output. But the tendency is toward the large units, and these in turn tend to merge into still larger units. What I have sought to give in this table are the corporations in that section of the industry which have been organized on a national basis.

It will be seen that the market value of the common stocks which own these corporations was $21,655,468,929. This is the sum that would be needed to buy every outstanding share. Of course, it is not necessary to buy every outstanding share to control a corporation, or even a majority, for that matter. However, upon any terms, the sum involved may seem too large to be within the reach of a few of those investment companies whose practices have recently been discussed in The New Republic.

But we should not be too sure of this. Investment trusts alone have assembled three billion dollars in the brief space of a half-dozen years. It is possible that other forms of investing companies have brought together another billion. If we add to this the funds of insurance companies, endowments and other corporate funds available for in-

vestment, we have several billions more. The accumulation in America of funds available for investment is one of the staggering phenomena of our times. And, as I said in a former article, almost every influence in our system is working to drive these mounting totals of investment funds into investment companies of various types.

Let this be clear—that I am not now trying to create the fear of some corporate monster which will arise to gather into its hands the stocks of all of our great producing corporations. I am pointing out that these stocks will pass, not into the hands of a single giant investment trust, or even of a few huge ones, but into the hands of a large number of investment trusts—several thousand, plus many other investing corporations—banks, security companies, trust companies and insurance companies. These will be numerous at first. They will get possession of all these stocks because they will always be in the market for the best common stocks. And their funds will be so great that inevitably over a course of years they will absorb all these stocks. When they have done so, we shall see the ownership of industry by large corporations, which will in turn be owned by corporate stockholders instead of individual stockholders—a few thousand powerful corporate stockholders instead of millions of individual investors. The stock of these incorporated stockholders in turn will be owned by individuals. The next phase in the development will be the gradual reduction in the number of corporate stockholders, and then the attempt to control them by the use of the holding company.

JOHN T. FLYNN.

Two Basic Principles of Education

The Fifth Contribution to the Symposium, "The New Education Ten Years After"

THE NEW types of curriculum, as shown in what are termed "progressive" schools, have in common more and more opportunities for experiencing, inquiring and experimenting, and less stress on subject matter and memorizing. More attention is given to processes of learning and study of growth habits by teachers and less to teaching and the development of teaching methods. Experimenting means experimentation *by* children and not experimentation *with* children. In fact, the zeal for teaching is giving place to the effort to provide an environment in which children can gradually take over their own learning processes.

Perhaps we are now ready to state some new principles of education. One, that our programs be experiencing ones, is but stating what is, at least in part, an accomplished fact. Another, corollary to the first, is that the rest of the program—the subject matter and the gripping of techniques—spring from the children's experiences, that the children develop the program along the lines of information and the fixing of techniques incident to their play and work.

It is one thing, however, to state principles and quite another to give them reality. I should not attempt this, if our school had not for several years been working out programs based on these principles. They are a reality there.

For convenience one must speak of the experiencing part of the program, the informational part and the techniques part, though as a matter of fact they are, more often than not, all one in operation. When a person is working and playing, whichever he may call his activity, the technical side is cared for and he cannot carry on without information. This is not saying that the best techniques are being acquired or that the most is being made of the informational opportunity. It merely means that, having helped to set up a situation, the teacher's next part in the picture is to see that the children take the greatest advantage of it. She must criticize techniques and see that the children get the information.

If it is necessary to define work and play at this time, I prefer to give a definition made by a group of children during a discussion period: "Play is what you do because you want to, and work is what you do because it has to be done." A good many people have tried to define work and play with less success. To make it a bit more palatable to the adult, I might translate it into these terms: Play centers in the process and work centers in the result. Neither definition should be construed to exclude pleasure in work or interest in the results of play.

A typical play experience for young children might be block building, while a typical play experience for children somewhat older may be found in making a play, in dramatics. A typical work experience for little ones is putting away blocks or managing one's own clothing, while a typical work experience for older children might be printing a magazine. While play dominates the activities of younger children, interest in work begins to supersede play in the case of older children. It might

be truer to say that the teacher begins to provide more opportunity for work than she does for play. She has two reasons for this: first, the children can be trusted to provide much spontaneous play for themselves at a later period; second, the children begin to need the stabilizing influence of work.

A full play program usually culminates in our school at the five-year age, and we have found it expedient to open the kitchen for cooking, as well as the shop, to six-year-olds. At the same time, block building reaches its culmination at six. Blocks are furnished to seven-year-olds who wish to go on with building, but the possibilities of the shop, laboratory and kitchen are featured, and the building of a city is suggested. This is done because the children have a store of information, gathered through their trips, which they have already used in laying out their block schemes. They have developed their techniques and are ready to build a city in more permanent materials than they have used heretofore.

Before going on to the older groups, I might explain how materials and occupations for these younger ones have been selected. First, we have never "prepared" children for the next higher group or for some future goal, except as each teacher may have done so subconsciously, which would tend to counteract the effect. On the contrary, we have taken the children as we have found them at three years of age. They have come to us, having had experiences. We recognize this. We have learned to analyze the effect which their experiences have had upon them, and we find that the children divide into two classes—those who are dependent upon adult attention, and those who have already learned to depend upon themselves. When the latter have been supplied with what we call adaptable materials, they may be left largely to themselves to work out their own three-year-old education. The others—varying all the way from those constantly demanding attention to those who are nearly launched in their own ventures—are the problems for the teachers. What to do with four-year-olds is determined by what the children become during their three-year-old period, and so on up through the school.

We have found blocks and playthings suitable materials for these youngsters. The playthings often suggest the character of the play, while the blocks become the building material. Crayons and paper, large carts and large blocks, sliding boards and many other things which the children can adapt to their purposes form parts of the environment. In outside life it is a common assumption that children play out the occupations of adults, that they reconstruct the adult world in play forms, but this conception is an innovation in the schools.

To the extent suggested in the foregoing, experiences are selected by the school. But the element of choice is enhanced rather than limited by such a set-up. The children build what they choose and how they choose; they draw what they choose, and use all materials freely. When the teacher makes provision for investigation leading to the acquirement of information, through trips, first about the building, next in the neighborhood and finally to all parts of the city, one child comes back with one bit of information and another with an entirely different set of facts, depending upon individual interests as well as upon what each child already knew. So it happens that one child's body of information is quite different from another's, that different types of skill develop, and that differing enterprises ensue.

Turning to the working out of these principles in the classes of children seven years of age and over, the problem changes, in that children of these ages are becoming more interested in occupations corresponding to those of adults; they respond to information a bit remote from their immediate situation, but they haven't the techniques required to explore beyond the immediate and to carry on more adult occupations. Furthermore, they become very demanding, owing to pressure, perhaps from home, to learn to read and write. At seven, then, we give the children every opportunity to learn these difficult techniques. The result is that about half the group become independent readers during the year. The rest are carried along in their age groups until they, too, are launched. Written arithmetic is begun at this time. Very little time is given to this formal getting-ready-for-something-else work.

The sevens play with blocks and finally build a city of more permanent materials, containing houses, furniture, automobiles and the like, which they make in the shop. They learn about electric currents in the laboratory and apply them in different ways to their city building. They dictate statements of what they are doing, and these are given to ten-year-olds, who hand-print them and turn them back for reading lessons. The informational side of this program is provided by exploration of the city farther afield than heretofore. New discoveries are made in a familiar field and applied to their schemes of play.

Searching the environment for something more in the nature of work for the eight-year-olds, an enterprising teacher took over the buying and selling of school supplies, and this has become an established activity. It is very successful, chiefly because it is so basic in the school life. It necessitated participation by all classes in the spending of the school-supply money, and thus threw the school into a life situation at once. Everyone became interested in materials, costs, waste, the meaning of wholesale and retail. The eights often have had to defend or modify their prices, which has entailed discussions of why they are in business: should they be the only ones to profit, or should the business be carried on in the interests of the community? Reading, writing and number work are incidental to the

experience and need no elaboration. Exploring wholesale houses for supplies raises inquiries by children who have learned to inquire. Going back to raw materials of paper, pencils, crayons, erasers, carries the exploration farther afield than heretofore, entails trips outside the city independently of the school, and finally leads the children to books and maps. It is amazing to find how much the children know about the surrounding country and how much they can get down on maps with very little help. If they trace back any commercial line they come upon the white settlers and Indians and are thrilled by them. They begin to live their lives and dramatize their situations. They make costumes and implements and whatever is incidental to their play.

A school post office occupies the nine-year-olds. The activity side of this is slight compared with that of running a store, but the opportunity for enrichment and for play activity seems to warrant its continuance. A new feature of the post office, added last year, made of it almost a sweated industry for a time. The children took over the mailing of Christmas parcels. They learned to weigh, stamp, insure and register parcels. The children who are allowed to go about the streets alone took the parcels to a nearby post office. They became sufficiently proficient to be noticed by the postmen, and once they were allowed to go inside to help sort and stamp the mail.

The children begin their research by visiting the city post offices and asking questions about the system. From this they become interested in carriers of mail. They come upon the pony express and stagecoaches of the past. They trace the opening of the country through railroads, and finally become acquainted with the latest carrier of mail—the airplane. They again meet dramatic material in the settlers and Indians. They distinguish between the nationalities of settlers, and touch Europe when their inquiries lead them to the question of why these particular settlers came over. During the past year, fascinating stories relating to mail routes and carriers have been written by the teacher of the class, typed, and given back to the children as reading material.

A program of handwork, evolved in the ten-year-old group, includes the making of hand-printed reading material for the sevens and portfolio and bookbinding upon order. This came about through a request from the office that it be relieved of this work, that is, of the printing of reading matter for the sevens, and it was found that the tens could do this very creditably. The informational side required a jump into the past, for which the children seemed ready. The romantic medieval is highly satisfactory. They read and get together material for a play, and finally produce something in which an audience is interested.

Enough has been said, perhaps, to show how these programs, based upon the two principles—first, that they spring from experience, and second, that the information and the techniques result from the play and work—develop. The elevens print; the twelves have for the past two years made toys. The thirteens this past year chose to have looms and weave and do special work in the shop.

Taking the programs from a different angle, every one of the so-called "subjects" of the formal schools is provided for, with this difference: that while the organization of the formal schools is built on subject matter, that of the new school, shall we say, tends to be an organization of situations which correspond more to life and living. I think this is particularly true of our school because we have never introduced anything foreign to our particular school situation as a possible "experience." The possibility of experiencing in our school is as real as that of experiencing in the home the sharing of housework, or on a farm in taking care of, and developing, farm work. These experiences of ours are no better than the home and farm ones, except for the fact that we have selected those which may be made rich in information and the development of techniques.

By careful calculation and watchfulness, it comes about that subject matter falls into relationship also. This does not follow the order of the formal school, however—a fact which leaves the new school in the position of failing to prepare the children for the next higher "grade" in the formal school. I believe we must face this failure and refuse to be influenced by it, or we shall gradually fail of our purpose and become formal schools. In many progressive schools one can see this going on. We have something much more important to do than fit children for the next higher grade. We have proposed a revolution in education. Shall we face about at the first sign of criticism? Perhaps it would be better for us to go down than to make these compromises.

But, until the whole educational system is revolutionized, the demands of other schools must be met at the point where the experimental school gives up the children. Our school does this at thirteen, and the year is given over to a formalized subject-matter program by means of which individual deficiencies are met. In this one year we are able to meet the academic requirements of the high school.

One example might be given of how subject matter is treated. In the case of the youngest children, arithmetic begins with the recognition of various number groups of such things as blocks, crayons, cups to be distributed. They make combinations of these. A consciousness of number is thus established before the children receive instruction in written number at the age of seven, when they begin writing. At eight, their number work is connected with the store. The processes are fixed by the use of many examples similar to those which the store

provides. They begin fractions at nine, in connection with the post office, and many similar examples are again introduced. Work which they had the year before is reinforced by the usual printed sheets of examples upon which the children work during unoccupied moments or as a class. That is, we try not to let the children lose what they gained at an earlier time. At ten, the new arithmetic is in connection with the laying out of materials. They deal in areas, and this experience is extended to all areas. They still work upon fixing the processes which they already understand.

In all classes there are two treasuries: one, an allowance for supplies, an account of which must be given to the office; the other, the money which the children make on their enterprises. These two accounts furnish a good deal of practical arithmetic. At eleven, the children have by no means succeeded in acquiring sixth-grade arithmetic, and, furthermore, they are anything but a unified arithmetic group. By tests they sometimes vary from second grade to eighth. This fact has worried us more in the past than it does at present. The cheerful feature is that no one is afraid of arithmetic. We are not especially interested in mathematics from the point of view of making the children efficient, and we do not emphasize it at this time in order to have the children ready to pass into high school. If one regards mathematics as a cultural subject, education is concerned with it. Arithmetic is unimportant except as it makes mathematics possible. It is this attitude that we take with the elevens. They have had practical arithmetic and have done it as a task in connection with their practical work and play. They are now ready to taste what mathematics contains for them as a subject. About half the group usually is ready technically. When the children begin to print, the press presents problems of leverage. There are principles involved which admit of wide application. Problems spring up in the laboratory which offer exercise in mathematics. The children are divided into two groups: those who are technically ready for such problems, and those who must improve their techniques in order to tackle them.

Another thing which we keep in mind at this time is that some children will never be interested in further pursuit of science and mathematics. They should, however, turn them down, not because they are difficult for them, but because they do not belong with their group of interests. Therefore, they should have some experience with them. Children engrossed in art at this time will doubtless pursue some form of art later on, and concessions should be made to them. The same method is used with the twelves, for whom a period of practical geometry was given this last year. Sometimes children who are backward in arithmetic can do these problems easily, and a certain courage and confidence is the result. For the first time, they see the value of the arithmetic they have avoided. At eleven and twelve much individual work is done with the children who have not succeeded, and finally, at thirteen, they are definitely brought "up to grade." In the three groups of thirteens that we have sent out, not one child has had to be held back. With one exception, all have made ninth grade, and occasionally one has passed directly into tenth grade. The exception was a child who had been in the school but two years and whose training in arithmetic had been messed up by poor teaching in a public school.

We have often been asked how we succeed in getting children to accept an academic program. There is no difficulty at all, provided a good teacher presents the material in an interesting way. Furthermore, the children know that entrance to high school is the next important situation which they have to meet. They are almost too anxious in many cases. The children have good habits of work; it is the teacher's effort to convert these into good habits of study.

I might take up each of the other branches of subject matter and show how they develop. But my object in this paper is, not to give a complete picture of the school, but merely to indicate how programs are built upon the principles which I have stated.

If I have done this, I should like to take up the question, "What is an experience?" Experience seems to me to be of such a nature as to effect a change in the organism, as set over against something which is merely added to it. When we say, "That was an experience," we mean that in some way our attitude has been affected. When we say, "That was interesting," we indicate merely that something has been added to our store of knowledge. The adding of a bit of information may or may not later on effect a change in attitude.

When subject matter dominates a curriculum, habits of acceptance of other people's opinions are formed, and memorizing becomes the functioning quality. The children escape this only in so far as the life outside the school offers opportunities for experiences on a level with their changing development. Children emotionally centered in their homes are influenced by the home more than by the school. If they are emotionally centered in street life, that, instead, will dominate their development. But such experiences bear no relation to the subject-matter program, and a far from satisfactory result ensues —the more and the longer the children are exposed to a subject-matter program, the less are they capable of making use of opportunities for experience; the less are they able to attack situations which have to be met.

In order to have an experience, the opportunity must be appropriate. It would be beside the point to offer a boy a chance to sail a boat if he had never been in a sailboat. For a first experience he might go out with someone; then he might be given the tiller, and finally he might help to manage the mainsail. All along he would be richly experienc-

ing and developing. He would add to his store of knowledge about boats and wind and water. This would be an appropriate experience for any boy or girl of an age and disposition to take advantage of it.

In order to have this experience, the organism must be in a highly receptive state, with inhibitions on irrelevant matters only. Every part must be in readiness to act together. Each act changes the relation of the parts acting and sets up a new attitude toward the problem of sailing a boat. With this constant change and refocusing, new readiness to act, new attitudes, are set up, and if there is persistency, sailing becomes an accomplished fact. Repeating such experiences sets up habits of open-mindedness to new opportunities, readiness to act and to pursue an objective. The emphasis is upon learning, and the method is perfect.

Turning to a history lesson in school, under the best and most approved circumstances the teacher appears before her class with a lesson prepared and organized. She has applied the principles of teaching to her lesson. She will *review* in order to bring the children up to the point where she will present the new material. She will then have taken them *from the known to the unknown*. She will give them concrete examples before she draws any conclusions. That is, she will go *from the concrete to the abstract*. She will begin with simple situations before she introduces the more complex ones, following the principle *from the simple to the complex*—cold, deliberate method which may not rouse a child in the class. Principles of teaching these are, and they may easily have nothing to do with learning. If the children have been interested sufficiently—if not in the material, in the teacher and whatever she does personally to hold the attention—it is supposed that the block of organized subject matter will become part of the child's make-up and attach itself to another part that has gone before. The amazing thing is that for some, it does. If the teacher is what is called "magnetic," interest in her becomes interest in what she says and does. It is her interest and it becomes their interest for the time being. What the children have learned of history has been added to them, but I doubt if any change of attitude is effected by this method. The trouble with such lessons is that there is no assurance that what they are supposed to get will be of any use to them. It is in the very nature of an organism to set itself against what it cannot use. It is only by the most rigid treatment over long periods that the childish organism learns to take what it cannot use.

Such a lesson as described is an appropriate experience for the teacher who is learning to teach and looking forward to a teaching career. While all the powers of the teacher have been called into play and focused on the presentation, the children have but listened and remembered at best, and learning has taken place at the bottom rung of the ladder. The children will not go far unless something is taking place outside of the school to give them the needful power to pull themselves up to the next rung. Here the emphasis is upon teaching, and learning takes place if it may.

But I would not for a moment condemn teaching. Good teaching has its place in every school. I am speaking of elementary education, in which good growth habits must be established before anything else and in which no teaching—even the best—should take the place of learning through experience. Having once established these habits, children can learn from a well presented lesson as they learn from observation of whatever is going on in the environment. Each will retain from a lesson that which is appropriate to his particular purposes.

CAROLINE PRATT.

In the sixth and last contribution to this symposium, to be published next week, Dr. John Dewey, who helped to found the progressive movement in education, will severely criticize some of its present tendencies.—THE EDITORS.

Daughters

I know I never did devise
Two tall girls with kind clear eyes.
This is more than life allows:
Two tall girls with candid brows.
I wonder how one understands
Two tall girls with slim, deft hands,
Quiet, graceful, moved to mirth
By—to them—a smiling earth.

Children that they were I've known.
Now, they hardly seem my own.
Now a sudden stride is taken
And the bough of life is shaken
Musical for them; for me
'Tis a gnarled, deep-rooted tree
Flourishing through sun and rain
From the darkest soil of pain.

Can it be they move and breathe
With anything I could bequeath?
Most their mother, yet not she,
Strangely they have come to be
Two tall girls who unaware
Waken spring in winter air
And with their beauty say "Let be!"
To all straitened agony.

I know I never did devise
In love and passion on this wise.
She, all grace, conceived this grace.
Yet in time and out of space
An individual pulse and thought
Have clearly and distinctly wrought
Some stilly miracle made new
In the difference of these two.

WILLIAM ROSE BENÉT.

The Vice Squad Carries On

II: *"No Woman Is Safe"*

In his first article, Mr. Cowley discussed the New York laws against prostitution and their enforcement by the vice squad. In this concluding article, he tells of several cases in which the evidence seems to show that women were falsely arrested or convicted on perjured testimony.—THE EDITORS.

AFTER a woman has been arrested for prostitution in New York City, she appears the following morning in Women's Court. The trial, with her consent, may take place immediately, or it may be adjourned until she has had time to engage a lawyer and gather together her witnesses. The prosecution does not ask for adjournments; it is always ready to present its evidence and obtain one more conviction.

Often social workers have compared the New York Women's Court with the other specialized courts dealing with sex delinquency which exist in Chicago, Boston and Philadelphia. Their judgment has usually been that the New York court is by far the best. It is somewhat more highly organized than the others; it has a better system of physical examination for venereal disease, not examining all arrested women, as is done in Philadelphia and Chicago, but only those who are convicted; it has a more effective method of supervising the women placed on probation; it is presided over by magistrates with a long experience in this type of work; and finally it boasts of a higher percentage of convictions than the similar courts of any other large city except Boston, where the convictions are incessantly being overruled by demands for a jury trial in a higher and less efficient court. In Chicago in 1920, only 19.4 percent of the women arrested for prostitution were convicted; in New York that same year, the percentage was 70, and by 1927 it had risen to 80.

These are some of the considerations which have led many social workers to recommend that the New York methods of dealing with prostitutes be adopted by other cities. But there is another side to the question: technical organization and statistics do not tell the whole story, nor does a high percentage of convictions prove that justice is always being done. It may mean, for example, that the defendants are placed at a disadvantage, making convictions all too easy. And this is the impression one carries away from a visit to Women's Court.

Almost everyone connected with the court is a specialist in dealing with the legal aspects of prostitution. The magistrate, for example, is one of the four who have been specially assigned to Women's Court, and he has usually served there for several years. The standard for judging his work is largely—perhaps chiefly—the percentage of women he convicts; this is recorded each month by the Committee of Fourteen and brought to the attention of the chief magistrate for the city. Should he choose to act on selfish motives—and how can he always distinguish these motives from others?—he will conclude that it is against his interests to acquit too many of the defendants. As for the prosecutor, whose experience is equal to that of the magistrate, his professional success depends directly on his ability to secure convictions.

The women probation officers, sitting there on the benches to the right, are all professionals in dealing with prostitutes and wayward minors. The clerk of court is a professional. The court attendant now in conversation with a professional bondsman is a professional himself. The members of the vice squad waiting to testify are professionals who, in a sense, may be said to profit by prostitution just as surely as do pimps, madams or white slavers. Some of the defendants are also professionals, and in this case they are said to stand an excellent chance for acquittal: they know what lawyers to engage, what evidence to present, what influence to bring to bear on the complaining officer. But most of the women brought into this court—at least three-fourths of them by the official statistics—are the rankest amateurs. What chance have they against all this professional knowledge?

They pass through Women's Court day after day in a weary procession. They are girls from Springfield or Utica who came to New York to find a job, and found the jobs all taken. Their clothes are torn, but they spent their last money for a lipstick and a powder puff. Again, they are Negro girls from Richmond by way of Harlem, surprised in a jump-raid. They are Jewish girls who flirted with an officer on Second Avenue. They are, in some cases, quietly dressed, refined young women who succeed in choking back their terror. They are tried one after the other, mechanically. No one in the courtroom outside the railing can hear these trials, which are conducted in low voices drowned by the roar of the Elevated. It is all very much like a talkie presented in a theater without sound apparatus. The spectators can only guess what is going on, but they are sure of the result. If the defendant is led out through the door to the

left, she has been convicted. And almost all these girls go out through the door that opens into the prison.

See the defendant now in the witness box. She has been arrested on One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street by a member of the vice squad who invited her into his automobile, and who has just given his stereotyped evidence. She has never been in court before, and is too poor to engage a lawyer. She has been told of her constitutional right to question the one witness against her, but she is too frightened. In a low voice, she is telling her story to the magistrate, while the court stenographer takes it down and the prosecutor listens attentively. Suddenly her voice rises:

"He offered me $5," she says. "I told him I didn't want his dirty money. Then he threw it into my lap and arrested me. He took me to the station house—I didn't know why. They looked in my purse and it was empty. That's the truth and he knows it!"

Her voice sinks again to an inaudible murmur. The prosecutor asks her a few questions and she returns to her lonely seat at the table facing the magistrate. Her shoulders are shaking. A moment later she is led out, through the heavy door to the left.

Two days later, in the middle of the morning, she will be returned for sentence. She is a first offender, and probably she will be placed on probation. But before that time, she will have learned to know the inside of a jail and will have learned, from the inmates, to fear and despise the New York police. She will have been examined for venereal disease. And her fingerprints will have been placed on record for all time as those of a prostitute.

I watched the case and came to doubt the woman's guilt. Such doubts, of course, are valueless as testimony; but nevertheless it is a matter of record that innocent persons have been convicted in Women's Court, and that girls have been brought there by officers who had no possible excuse for arresting them. Here, for example, are a few cases taken from the records of the Society for the Prevention of Crime. Some of them are ten years old, others are more recent, but all of these cases might be duplicated under the conditions existing today:

February, 1920. Mrs. Beatrice Edwards, after being convicted in Women's Court, appealed her case to the Court of General Sessions. Justice Wadhams, who reversed the decision, severely arraigned the methods of the vice squad. His opinion set forth that the testimony of John L. Sullivan and John J. Miller, the plain-clothes policemen who made the arrest, bore "all the earmarks of fabrication," and that it agreed so completely in all its details as to satisfy the court that it was a prepared description. "Such arrests as this," said Justice Wadhams, "are an outrage."

December, 1924. May Nolan was convicted in Women's Court on the testimony of Officers Dickert and Iannone. Her case, generally regarded as a "frame-up," was appealed first to the Court of Special Sessions and then to the Appellate Division. It was the only case of this kind ever considered by this highest court of New York state. The Appellate Division reversed the decision of the lower courts and ordered a new trial. The defendant was honorably discharged after many delays—and after serving her sentence. Dickert, the complaining officer, was later dismissed from the force upon charges of extortion made by a woman in Brooklyn, whom he had attempted to frame.

These two cases are rather unusual, for, as I explained in the preceding article, women convicted of prostitution rarely exercise their right of appeal to a higher court. Even though innocent, they prefer to be fingerprinted and to serve a short sentence rather than to have their reputations ruined by newspaper publicity. The following two cases, resulting from two arrests made by one officer on the same day, are more typical. They embody some of the worst features of the vice squad and of Women's Court: the arrest as punishment for resisting an officer's advances, the possibility of a frame-up, and finally the conviction on evidence that is not accepted in other courts:

March, 1925. Officer Vincent Fagan of the vice squad attempted to flirt with Anna Kovalski; he took hold of her arm and refused to release it. She slapped him in the face, not knowing that he was a New York policeman. He arrested her for disorderly conduct and assaulting an officer. After spending the night in jail, she was tried in the West Side Court before Magistrate Douras, who acquitted her and severely reprimanded the officer.

Three hours after his flirtation with Anna Kovalski, Officer Fagan arrested a young girl, Corliss Miller, and three men. He charged the girl with prostitution and the men with being in a house of prostitution. The men were tried in West Side Court before Magistrate Douras and acquitted; they said that Miss Miller at no time left the room in which all four were seated.

The girl, tried in Women's Court on exactly the same testimony, was convicted.

Here is a rather complicated case involving two colored women and an officer who allowed the first to be acquitted, but who did not hesitate to change his testimony in order to convict the second:

March, 1925. Edith Nelson and Lucilla Lee were arrested by Officer James F. McHale, who said that the Lee woman made her escape while he was preparing to take them both to the station house. The Nelson woman was tried and acquitted. McHale testified that she was fully dressed, as were the two men in the room when he made the jump-raid.

November, 1925. McHale, in Women's Court, arrested a colored woman who was there awaiting trial on a charge made by another officer. This woman, McHale asserted, was Lucilla Lee. She denied his

statement, saying that she had never seen him before, but nevertheless she was tried, convicted, and sentenced to one year on Blackwell's Island. In this case, McHale testified that, at the time of his original raid, the Nelson woman was clothed only in "step-ins," and that a man ran out of the bedroom clad in his underclothes.

From an examination of the court records, it seems obvious that McHale perjured himself either at the first trial or at the second. If at the first, the presumption would be that of bribery; if at the second, the presumption would be that of revenge for Lucilla Lee's escape. McHale will later appear in other suspicious cases.

Meanwhile I have not the space to record all these questionable trials. Passing over the case of Minnie Stern, who was sentenced to a hundred days in the workhouse on very slender evidence; passing over the case of another woman who was convicted in spite of her offer to prove her innocence by medical examination; passing over a number of cases too complicated to explain in brief, let us deal with two which involve the morals of those assigned to supervise the morality of others:

November, 1925. Rose Valdez and Julia Wright were tried before Magistrate Jean Norris. Serious charges [presumably of attempted perversion] were made against the arresting officers by the defendants. The magistrate, in acquitting them, severely reprimanded the officers and told them not to appear in her court again. She said that she believed what the defendants told her, having heard the same charges made against these two officers by other women they had brought into court.

January, 1926. Sarah Rolls, Elizabeth Halley, Helen White and James Keys were arrested by Officers Kline, Hunter and Dudley. The three women were tried in Women's Court and convicted; the man was tried in the Washington Heights Court and acquitted on the same evidence. These people did not know what they were arrested for till they were put on trial, and even then they were not sure of anything except that between their bondsmen and their lawyer, Mrs. Rolls had given up $350—all the money she had in the world.

Dudley, one of the arresting officers, was described by an investigator as "one of the most despicable men ever permitted to live." On the following March 8, while he was arresting two women whom he is said to have framed, one of them, Hattie Williams, became so frightened that she jumped out of a fourth-story window and was killed; nothing was ever done about her death. Dudley, however, was later brought to trial by the police commissioner on other charges, and was permitted to resign while awaiting the decision of the trial board.

Here are two of the many cases based on the use of a stool pigeon by the Inspector's Men:

April, 1926. Sadie Wright and Alice Ebron were tried and convicted in Women's Court. The stool used in this case was the one known as "Broadway," now serving a long sentence under the name of John Smith.

May, 1926. Mrs. Minnie Lynch, arrested by Officer Hart, was tried in Women's Court. The stool pigeon in this case was the same as in that of Sadie Wright and Alice Ebron. Later, when "Broadway" was being sentenced in the Court of General Sessions, Mrs. Lynch identified him positively. She herself had been acquitted, but the magistrate's decision was so phrased as to protect Officer Hart from possible proceedings for false arrest.

"Broadway" Smith and the even more notorious stool pigeon Charlie Dancy operated in Negro Harlem, a congested district where rents are high and where many honest families are forced to take in roomers. Both of them, if we may trust their victims, preyed on the mothers of such families, first entering their apartments under pretext of renting a furnished room, and later representing to the members of the vice squad, with whom they cooperated, that the money paid for rent was really paid for purposes of prostitution. It is said that many innocent women were sent to the workhouse as a result of their activities. Dancy, however, was finally arrested by his friends the police when he attempted to frame a Negro business man by placing a loaded revolver in his automobile. On a plea of guilty, he was sent to the penitentiary for eighteen months. This conviction forced the police to arrest their other stool pigeon, "Broadway" Smith, on a minor charge. As soon as he was safely behind the bars, accusations from his terrified victims began to pour in, and he was finally indicted on twelve counts, each involving a felony—in four cases burglary, in four cases rape, in three cases larceny, and in one case a crime which my informant was unable to specify. At present "Broadway" is serving out a sentence of seventy years, and it is said that the new vice squad now operating in Harlem makes no use of stool pigeons. There are, however, many parts of the city where this dangerous practice still prevails.

I shall close this list with two brief cases, both of them involving Officer McHale—who is still a member of the New York police force:

June, 1926. A woman named Bixler was tried in Women's Court before Magistrate Silberman; Officer McHale was the complaining witness. In this case, however, the "unknown man," who is never brought into court by the police, was produced by the defense. He testified that McHale had lied in giving his testimony, and Mrs. Bixler was acquitted. McHale is the officer shown to have committed perjury either in the case of Edith Nelson or in that of Lucilla Lee.

June, 1926. Two women named La Mothe and Saunders were arrested by McHale and tried before Magistrate Silberman, who threw the case out of court, saying, "The whole lot of you were drunk, including the officer."

The foregoing list is fragmentary, first because it mentions only cases which have accidentally been called to the attention of the Society for Prevention of Crime, and second because, from the records of that society, I have selected only the twelve cases which could be most briefly set forth. These twelve cases, however, are typical of the injustices from which women have suffered and still may suffer under the present system of dealing with prostitution in New York City. They show that people are convicted and sentenced in Women's Court on evidence insufficient to obtain a conviction in other courts. They show that the Inspector's Men have been willing to give false testimony, that they still ally themselves with criminals in securing evidence and that they have sometimes abused their power by making improper advances to women—under threat of arrest if their victims resist. The records of these twelve cases show, moreover, that none of the policemen concerned in them was discharged or demoted at the time—though some of these men were dismissed from the force for later offenses. Most of them are still on the vice squad and the old methods are still being used. It was Mrs. Mary Hamilton, once head of the policewomen, who said, "Under present conditions, no woman is safe."

This does not mean that a reign of terror now exists in New York City. It does not mean that the New York women who read this article are in any danger of being sent to Blackwell's Island on trumped-up charges. It does mean, however, that a woman's innocence is no protection against a member of the vice squad if for any reason he decides to arrest her. It means that her innocence is no real guarantee of her being acquitted if she is brought into Women's Court.

MALCOLM COWLEY.

Washington Notes

LISTENING to the clamor of the Democrats in Washington, one would suppose that they had the election this fall already "in the bag," that the Honorable Jack Garner was even now riding around in the Honorable Nick Longworth's government-provided automobile, and that the Honorable Herbert Hoover had been tossed high up on the political scrap heap, balked of a renomination and branded a one-term President. All of these things may come about, but it does seem to me that the Democratic jubilation is slightly premature. It is the recognized privilege and confirmed custom of Democrats to be optimistic in the off years. Since 1920 each successive presidential defeat has been followed in Congress by a revival of hope. Not in a long time, however, have I seen the minority party as militant, vibrant and sanguine as now—not even in those months of 1924 following the revelations of the oil-lease frauds and other forms of corruption prevalent during the Harding administration. When you consider that it is less than two years since the Democrats suffered the most crushing defeat in party history, a defeat that upset the solidity of their one sectional stronghold, the present confidence is little less than amazing. As I see it, there are several reasons for this condition. The basic one, of course, is the business slump which followed the 1929 stock-market crash and which has in turn been followed by a wave of unemployment throughout the country.

No matter how illogically, this sort of thing is inevitably blamed upon the administration, with the result that the party in power is weakened and the prospects of the opposition enhanced. Another reason for Democratic rejoicing is, of course, the tariff bill, which has been completely blackened and discredited throughout the country by a continuous and consistent attack covering nearly a year and a half. Hoover's approval of the bill was generally expected, though up to the last the political reasons for refusing to sign were so obvious that there was a feeling of uncertainty among some of his friends. The general sentiment in the country is more strongly opposed to this bill than to any since the Payne-Aldrich bill of twenty years ago. Whether it is a sentiment that can be translated into anti-Republican votes is an entirely different question. Still another reason for the Democratic hopefulness is the undoubted increase in Wet strength and the tendency of the Democratic party, in all the so-called "pivotal" states, to become the Wet party.

Undoubtedly these three things constitute a certain justification for Democratic confidence, and there is a prospect for large Democratic gains in the House as well as in the Senate. Nevertheless, I think it is a mistake to assume too much at this time. It is true that there is a real menace to the administration in the business condition. Should this condition continue acute until after the election, it might easily happen that the whole Republican majority of 105 members in the House would be wiped out and that the Democrats would capture control. Clearly this would be a major political disaster for the unfortunate Herbert and the Republican party. Loss of the House in the middle-term election by the party in power invariably has been followed by loss of the presidency in the next election. A good many astute observers are convinced that such a Republican defeat in the House would make it impossible for Hoover to be renominated, notwithstanding the general acceptance, since Taft's time, of the ability of a Republican President to renominate himself regardless of party opposition. I still adhere to this idea, since it is plain that failure to renominate would mean that the party had repudiated itself—a procedure which would send it into the campaign badly crippled and divided. I am convinced that under such circumstances the little writing statesman up in Northampton, with his highly remunerative literary alliance with Hearst, could not be induced to take the risk. However, there are those who believe that a Democratic House this year would mean a Coolidge or a Morrow as the presidential candidate in 1932. In any event, it would mean a completely futile Hoover administration for the next two years, and a great Democratic advantage—that is, if it happens.

At this time, however, the chances that it will are not even fifty-fifty. In the first place, as I have previously pointed out here, there is no chance at all that the Democrats will control the Senate, though the coalition probably will be strengthened. To overturn the Republican paper majority, the Democrats would have to gain ten Senate

seats. It is not in the wood. The best possible count was six, and that included New Jersey. Since the overwhelming victory of Mr. Morrow, all the prophets, including myself, who thought he would be beaten by the "Wet-as-the-Atlantic-Ocean" Mr. Simpson, aided by an independent Dry Republican candidate, have had to about face. It is too late now for an independent to get in under the wire, and the election of Mr. Morrow, who is much more intelligently Wet than Simpson, though not so violent, is pretty generally conceded. In the second place, the election is four months off, and the best informed men I know, regardless of political affiliation, are agreed that after dragging along on bottom through July and August, business conditions will grow perceptibly and progressively better throughout September and October.

From many official sources one hears that things are "fundamentally sound" and that business is on the "up grade." This sort of twaddle leaves me very cold indeed. What impresses me a lot more is the privately expressed conviction of those practical heads of great corporations who were personally and politically unfriendly to Mr. Hoover before he was nominated at Kansas City and who are much more inimical now. I have talked recently with quite a number of them, including the executive officers of more than one big railroad system. They are a unit in the conviction that, tariff or no tariff, there is no way to prevent business from quickening once the summer is over, and that in a year and a half at most, the prosperity tide will again flow. "And then," disgustedly said one of these men, "this bird in the White House will get credit which he will deserve as little as he did the blame for the market crash last fall. He will be pictured as the strong, wise man, who sat silent under attack and guided the nation out of a period of depression back to peace and plenty." The point of all this is that if by the middle of October there are unmistakable evidences of the inevitable recovery, the Democratic attack on the tariff will fall flat. Nick will retain his automobile and the Republicans control of the House, though by a reduced majority. Hardly anyone will contend that Mr. Hoover's renomination would not then be assured.

My personal feeling is that the minority leaders will be unwise if they let the exuberant Democratic publicity department make them count too heavily upon the tariff—which may easily fail them—as a winning issue, and forget all about prohibition, which is far and away their best bet. The trouble there is that so much of the Democratic party is Dry, and its Western Progressive tariff allies are also so Dry that among the so-called "national figures," such as Robinson of Arkansas and Roosevelt of New York, the disposition is to soft-pedal and pussyfoot on prohibition with the idea of keeping down discord. There is always some such internal division among Democrats to prevent them from presenting the sort of united front that is necessary in order to win. Incidentally, I have been rather surprised at the calm with which the White House has taken the newspaper hammering that followed the tariff-bill approval. Neither the secretariat nor the "Chief" exhibited the signs of perturbation and dismay which such sensitive people would normally display under so fierce a barrage. Perhaps they had discounted it. Perhaps they bank on the business revival to justify the presidential approval of a bad bill. Perhaps they feel only relief, now that the whole mess is at last over and the session of Congress from which Herbert has suffered so acutely is about to end.

T. R. B.

Washington.

A COMMUNICATION

José Carlos Mariátegui

SIR: José Carlos Mariátegui has died in Lima, Peru. These words sufficed to plunge the intelligentsia of all Hispano-America into sorrow; and nothing could be more eloquent of the cultural separation between the two halves of the New World than the fact that to most of us these words convey no meaning.

Mariátegui was the leader in Peru of the literary and intellectual revolutionary movement. He was a young man, not over thirty-two or thirty-four. But he had already won a place of far more than local or even national importance. He was revered and loved as a guide by the younger generation in all the South American countries. His was perhaps the clearest mind, the purest and most devoted spirit, which our generation has given to our continents.

When a man's greatness inheres in the whole human being rather than in a particular gift, it is hard to define his essential value. Mariátegui reached farthest, perhaps, as the founder and editor of a magazine called Amauta, which now for several years has been the home of the enlightened groups of Peru and a forum of creative revolutionary action for all America. Mariátegui called himself a communist, although he had no affiliations with the orthodox Moscow party, nor, indeed, with any strictly political organization. He based his revolutionary creed on a profound esthetic and intellectual acceptance of the Indian of the Andes, on an evolution of the values of the Inca culture in terms of modern life and on a harmonization of these with the basic laws of industrialism and of modern socialism. His two latest books, "In Defense of Marxism" and "Essays in Interpretation of the Reality of Peru," might be called the inception of an American communism, rooted in our Indian soil and functioning in our industrial world. But Amauta is no more a political organ than are the murals of Diego Rivera in Mexico City. Mariátegui was above all an interpreter and a fomenter of the creative spirit, a believer in the potential spirit of the Americas. And his magazine was the home of the Peruvian painters and poets and story-tellers who expressed this spirit. It was even more their home than it was that of the sociologists, economists and archæologists who are beginning, in Lima and Cuzco, to bring Mariátegui's Peru into birth. In these pages, moreover, the literature of Europe and of North America was fully represented. Mariátegui was no sentimental enemy of the United States: he recognized with his passionate clarity that we have the same cause and the same enemy as the Americas of Spain. Appearing month after month on cheap paper, with cheap reproductions of superb native art,

Amauta has been one of the most dynamic and creative organs of our day: surely, nothing like it has existed for a long time in the United States.

Amauta was only part of the man's work. He founded a popular weekly, Labor, addressed more immediately to the worker, who was barred, by its high intellectual standards, from Amauta. The weekly, last year, after several suspensions, was finally suppressed by Leguía, the President of Peru. In addition, Mariátegui had begun to publish books and regularly arranged exhibitions in Lima for the superb new generation of artists who called him master: José Sabogal, Julia Codesido, Carmen Saco, Camillo Blas, among others. By such means, at thirty, Mariátegui had become a *maestro* for the intellectual and the studious along the whole Pacific littoral, from Colombia to Chile and north to Cuba and east to Argentina. On my recent journey through these lands, university men everywhere came to speak to me of Mariátegui. "You are going to Lima," they said, "you will see him. Tell him for us, that we read him and love him, and that we follow him."

In Lima I found him, a short lean cripple, with burning eyes of black in which, it seemed to me, lived the power and passion of the Spaniard together with the exquisite sensibility of the Quichua, the Andean red man. He suffered from a tubercular infection which had required the amputation of a leg, and the other was useless. He lived in a wheel-chair. But he was active, mobile, happy, beyond any of his American brothers. All day he worked in one of those tropical apartments, open to an uncovered patio, among his family and his friends. And all day they came to him there: the writers, the painters, the scholars, the boys and the girls, to win sustenance from his mind and from his heart. There also, periodically, came the police of President Leguía (the last of these assaults had been just a week before my arrival), and stuck him into jail, while they rifled his papers, camped in his home, and then (having failed to connect him with any plot from Moscow) released him until the next of their visits.

Mariátegui lived in a state of perpetual siege. Often his letters never reached him; his papers were wantonly destroyed; in a hundred petty ways life was made miserable for him, and work almost impossible. Yet the heart of the man was so hale that these misfortunes did not touch the bloom of his happy spirit. None the less, he knew that he had reached the limit of his usefulness in a Peru stifled by Leguía. His activity was continental; it was high time he removed to some greater and freer center. This next step had been arranged for him. The intellectuals of Buenos Aires, chiefly through the propaganda of the brilliant Argentine publicist, Señor Samuel Glusberg, had invited him to settle in their city. There he was to write, to lecture, possibly to edit a continental organ. In Buenos Aires, he would be free (since Argentina is one of the freest countries in the world); he could earn money (almost an impossibility for a man of his stamp in Peru) and he would, moreover, find the type of medical aid which, he trusted, might save his life.

Everything was prepared, and he was to have gone this May. His journey would have been a turning point in the cultural history of America Hispaña. All his friends attached great importance to this transference of Mariátegui from the Pacific to the Atlantic. To me it seemed symbolic of the potential cultural coördination of Hispano-America, even as the passage a hundred years ago of Bolívar and San Martín from the Atlantic to the Pacific was symbolic of the continent's liberation, political and economic, from Spain.

Mariátegui's death is one of those bitter and irreparable losses which try a man's faith in life and test his courage to go on living. He was truly a great man in a great cause—a continental cause: the cause of the cultural and spiritual freedom of America. His disappearance is a setback in our common struggle, like the loss of a great battle.

Mariátegui died poor. The expenses of his burial had to be met by a collection among his friends—most of them as poor as he. And he leaves, absolutely penniless, his widow and three children. His friends, in the different American countries, have, therefore, determined to raise a fund for the support of his family. They have asked me to take charge of any contributions from the United States. To them, Mariátegui was an American: they cannot conceive that in our part of America there should not be some men and women happy to help as they are helping.

I shall be glad to forward any contributions to Lima. Or, if it is so preferred, money may be sent direct to Dr. Luis Alberto Sanchez, Apartado 12-53, Lima, Peru.

WALDO FRANK.

North Conway, N. H.

CORRESPONDENCE

Hoover and the Tariff

SIR: The New Republic has been almost alone, if not entirely alone, in perceiving and clearly demonstrating the certainty that a flexible protective tariff is no better than a rigid protective tariff from the standpoint of those who advocate freedom of international trade. Ten years ago The New Republic refused to support the argument that America's duty was to join the League of Nations in order to be able to bring about a revision of the harsh terms of the Versailles Treaty. Today The New Republic refuses to support the argument that a bad tariff law ought to be accepted merely because it contains provisions for readjustments and improvements.

Is it not time to challenge anew the arguments of the protectionists? In the presidential campaign of 1928 the Republican nominee stated the case for protection in considerable detail. Mr. Hoover not only stood frankly for protection but he tried hard to prove the soundness of the protective principle. He especially emphasized the tariff in his address accepting the nomination on August 11, in his address at Newark on September 17 and in his address at Boston on October 15.

In upholding the Fordney-McCumber tariff, Mr. Hoover painted a bright picture of American prosperity and a contrasting picture of conditions abroad. He said in his Newark address: "Were it not for sound governmental policies and wise leadership, employment conditions in America today would be similar to those existing in many other parts of the world. None of the large countries engaged in the Great War have [sic] as yet restored full employment. Doles to the idle and other devices of desperation still exist abroad." At Boston he said: "The other combatant nations are only now barely recovering their pre-war basis" in foreign trade. At Newark he said: "If we make a survey of the world's trade today, we shall find that the export trade of all countries is only 10 percent above pre-war, while ours

is 58 percent. Also, if we make a survey of what has happened to the other great trading nations who were engaged in the War, we find that their foreign trade for the year 1927, when it is similarly adjusted for the depreciation of money, shows only a bare recovery to pre-war bases." In his acceptance address he said: "While other countries engaged in the War are only now regaining their pre-war level in foreign trade, our exports, even if we allow for the depreciated dollar, are 58 percent greater than before the War." In his address at New York on October 22, 1928, Mr. Hoover declared that the American people "have gone forward in progress while the rest of the world has halted, and some of the countries have even gone backwards."

Those are some of the references which Mr. Hoover made to foreign stagnation and adversity. But he also made references to foreign prosperity. At Boston he said: "Every nation gains by the prosperity of another. Our prosperity in the United States has enabled us in eight years to make enormous increases in the purchase of goods from other nations. These increasing purchases have added prosperity and livelihood to millions of people abroad." In dealing with the Allies' ability to pay their War debts to America, Mr. Hoover at Boston said: "A hard, practical fact enters here also, which is that their buying power from us is constantly increasing." At Boston he also said: "The exports of five leading manufacturing nations of Europe to the United States have been increased 75 percent since 1913, whereas the sales of these same nations to the rest of the world have only increased 72 percent."

Thus, Mr. Hoover's statements about conditions abroad, as they existed in 1928, can be summed up as follows: America, largely by means of her protective tariff, has made tremendous strides in foreign trade, while the other countries have practically stood still; but at the same time the Allies can easily pay us their War debts because they are making such tremendous strides in foreign trade. To put Mr. Hoover's arguments more simply: Foreign nations are making practically no progress toward recovery from the War, but, nevertheless, foreign nations are making rapid progress toward recovery from the War.

At Boston, Mr. Hoover presented many figures to show the increase in America's foreign trade, and declared: "In short, there is no practical force in the contention that we cannot have a protective tariff and a growing foreign trade. We have both today." Such a declaration is not nearly so impressive as it sounds. For Mr. Hoover's opponents in 1928 were not contending that a protective tariff could not be accompanied by a growing foreign trade. Their argument simply was that foreign trade would not increase as fast under tariff restrictions as it would in the absence of such restrictions. Mr. Hoover made no attempt to meet that argument. He merely demolished an argument which none of his intelligent critics was upholding.

Mr. Hoover advocated protection against foreign standards of living. In his acceptance address he said: "Foreign products raised under lower standards of living are today competing in our home markets." Also: "The Republican party has ever been the exponent of protection to all our people from competition with lower standards of living abroad." At Boston: "The competition which it [the Underwood tariff] provided was competition with foreign wages and standards of living." And: "The American protective tariff is the only insurance to our 600,000 families who earn their livelihood in the cotton and wool manufacturing industries against the wages prevalent abroad and the conditions and standards of living which necessarily result from them." In his message to Congress at the opening of the special session in April of last year, the President said: "No discrimination against any foreign industry is involved in equalizing the difference in costs of production at home and abroad and thus taking from foreign producers the advantages they derive from paying lower wages to labor."

Low wages, low costs of production—that is the way Mr. Hoover talked when advocating a tariff to protect the American standard of living. But he did not talk that way when he advocated high wages for American workers. He argued then that high wages went with lower costs of production. For example, he said in his acceptance address: "We have seen a growing realization by labor that the maximum use of machines, of effort and of skill is the road to lower production costs and in the end to higher real wages." At Newark he said: "I believe that the maintenance of the higher standards of living stimulates the development of labor-saving devices, increases skill in our workmen and in our managers, and that in this way we compensate for higher wages." Also at Newark: "American labor has been the first labor body in the world that has had the intelligence and courage to realize and express the fact that increased wages and salaries must in the long run be based upon a sharing of labor in the savings made through industrial and commercial efficiency. Within the past few months British labor has followed this lead of American labor. That is, if we are able by labor-saving machinery and reduction of the wastes in industry to decrease the cost of production of an article, we know by long experience that a train of consequences of the highest importance follows. Wages in that industry rise, prices decrease, consumption increases at home and in our foreign markets, the demand for labor is enlarged and our standards of living are improved." Also at Newark: "The large majority of both sides (employer and employee) today willingly accept the fundamental principle that the highest possible wages are the road to increased consumption of goods and, thereby, to prosperity. Both accept the fundamental fact that greater efficiency, larger application of mechanical devices and full personal effort are the road to cheaper costs, lower prices and thus again to a wider consumption and larger production of goods." Also at Newark: "Taken as a whole we have [in the past seven years] swelled our production on a quantity basis by nearly 30 percent. Parallel with it, wages have risen and the prices of manufactured goods have fallen."

These questions naturally arise: If higher wages and the use of labor-saving machinery and a generally increased efficiency mean lower costs of production in America, why would not higher wages and the use of labor-saving machinery and a generally increased efficiency mean lower costs of production abroad? If foreign producers would increase their efficiency and would pay higher wages, why would they not then be able to decrease their costs of production? And if they could decrease their costs of production why would not their goods be even more of a menace to our own producers than is the case at present? Would we not then need still higher tariff duties to "protect" us against the higher standards of living abroad?

Worcester, Mass. MYRON M. JOHNSON.

Wanted: Edward Carpenter Letters

SIR: The literary executors of the late Edward Carpenter have in preparation a memorial volume. I am now collecting material for the chapter on Walt Whitman and other American friends, which they have asked me to write. Carpenter's letters to the Good Gray Poet have been sold and are widely scattered. Perhaps the present owners would allow me to have the use of copies. My address is Couching Lion Farm, Waterbury, Vt.

Waterbury, Vt. WILL S. MONROE.

A Fair Question

SIR: After reading Agnes Smedley's vivid and circumstantial article on Mukden, I felt that she had left unanswered a question that many readers would like answered. She describes, evidently as an eyewitness, the beggar woman who has tripped and fallen in the street and remains there unable to get back on her "pin-like feet," while men and women laugh at her but offer her no assistance. What I—what we—want to know is, Why didn't Agnes lend her a hand and help her to pick up her scattered bread and to get up on her feet to go on her way with her child? This question, I suppose, seems to harbor an accusation. It doesn't; but it does raise an interesting point about this article in which the theme is charity or humaneness among the northern Chinese.

WILLIAM L. MILLER

Jersey City, N. J.

Froude and Carlyle

Froude and Carlyle: A Study of the Froude-Carlyle Controversy, by Waldo H. Dunn. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 365 pages. $5.

CARLYLE was the leading exponent of biography in his age. He held that history was the account of the great men who have worked in the world, "the essence of innumerable biographies." He gave illustration of several types of biography in his treatment of Cromwell, John Sterling and Frederick the Great. And finally he became, involuntarily, the occasion and the victim of a biographical controversy which began a few months after his death and by which his splendid reputation was sadly scarred. It is of this controversy that Professor Waldo H. Dunn gives an exhaustive account. He has followed it in all its ramifications, examined all the evidence, and speaks with final authority.

With a natural distrust of his fellow craftsmen, Carlyle originally stated his determination that no life of himself should be written. During his last fifteen years, however, he found his chief occupation in recording and collecting material for this purpose. He chose as his confidant in this work a younger man who in his later years had become one of his disciples, James Anthony Froude. He entrusted to Froude a sketch of his wife, afterwards published in the "Reminiscences," and a collection of her letters, annotated by himself, published as "Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle." It is easy to believe that he carried through this work as a labor of love and atonement, intended at most for the perusal of the closest friends of the woman he felt he had deeply wronged, and that his original endorsement on the manuscript, that it was not to be published, was made in entire good faith. It is equally easy to believe Froude's statement that this injunction was superseded by oral instructions. Later on he entrusted to Froude the sketches of Irving, Jeffrey and others, which form the bulk of the "Reminiscences," and a great mass of correspondence, leaving the disposition entirely to Froude's discretion, with the advice to "burn freely." This advice was later implicitly withdrawn by the gift of these papers to his niece Mary Aitken, who lived with him as secretary and mistress of his house in Chelsea, and who married her cousin Alexander Carlyle. Froude resigned his editorship of Frazer's Magazine, gave up his historical pursuits and devoted his time for seven years to working over the Carlyle material. It is preposterous to suppose that Carlyle did not know what was going forward. It is more plausible that he knew in some detail what Froude's plans were, and enjoyed prospectively the row that was sure to follow. Carlyle had scourged the British public too often and seen it come cringing and fawning back to lick his hand and ask for more, to have any fear of the final result.

Whether Carlyle did or did not pass in detail on the posthumous use of his papers, he had given to Froude and to the world a clear indication of his view of the function of the biographer. When Lockhart published his "Life of Scott" there was an outcry against his harshness in dealing with his hero, and even the charge that he had practised deliberate and malevolent treachery. To all this Carlyle in his essay on Scott replied, as if anticipating the attack on Froude:

> How delicate, decent is English biography, bless its mealy mouth! A Damocles' sword of *Respectability* hangs forever over the poor English life-writer (as it does over poor English life in general), and reduces him to the verge of paralysis. . . . The English biographer has long felt that if in writing his Man's Biography, he wrote down anything that could by possibility offend any man, he had written wrong.

Added to this is the undoubted fact that Carlyle intended his sketch and the "Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle" as an atonement. Professor Norton has attributed the difficulties between Carlyle and his wife in part to her dissatisfaction with their relative positions in the world, he a great luminary in the London sky and she at best the satellite—and at worst the household drudge. That Carlyle intended to give her at last the distinction she coveted, as well as to atone for his misunderstanding and indifference, is the natural explanation of his action. At all events, the declaration of Froude has the ring of good faith:

> The question before me was whether I was to say that the atonement ought not to be completed, and that the bravest action which I had ever heard of should be left unexecuted, or whether I was to bear the reproach, if the letters were given to the world, of having uncovered to the world the errors of the best friend I had ever had.

When Carlyle died, Froude had ready for publication the "Reminiscences," which appeared promptly, followed within a year by the first two volumes of the biography, covering the period from 1795 to 1834, and after another year by the "Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle." With each the storm grew. Not only the partisans of Keats, Shelley, Charles Lamb and others, of whom Carlyle's derogatory estimates now appeared, rose in wrath, but also the admirers of Carlyle, who felt that his reputation had been unduly sacrificed. The Carlyle family divided, his surviving brother and sister upholding Froude, and Mary and Alexander reprobating his action. Mary Carlyle undertook legal proceedings to restrain Froude from further use of the papers which ultimately belonged to her, but his coexecutor, Sir James Stephen, defended him, and the courts upheld Carlyle's will. Froude was accused of indiscretion, of inaccuracy and of treachery. Later on Mary and Alexander Carlyle, with the assistance of Charles Eliot Norton, issued editions of the "Reminiscences" and the "Memorials" to substantiate these charges, and from the mass of papers which Froude had not used were gathered "New Memorials" and "More Letters." Carlyle had, as was often said, preached the doctrine of silence through thirty volumes. Add to these Froude's nine, and twice as many more of new matter, and it is no wonder that Carlyle's reputation buckled. Reputations should be protected by signs such as we see on bridges—"This reputation unsafe for loads of more than four tons."

From the charge of overweighting the structure, Professor Dunn's volume must be excepted. Rather has he cleared the way for normal traffic. Of Carlyle's relations with Froude he has given a clear and comprehensive account. He has shown to what extent the personality and reputation of Froude himself entered into the controversy. Froude had been one of Newman's followers, who turned back only at Littlemore, on the eve of Newman's conversion. He had written his recantation in "The Nemesis of Faith." He also wrote his history of England during the Reformation, with considerable bias in favor of Protestantism. He was, therefore, marked as an enemy by Catholics and Anglo-Catholics. Moreover, he was regarded as an interloper by the dominant school of historians, particularly by Edward A. Freeman, who pursued him

with inveterate hatred. At best it came to be said of him that he was perhaps honest, but congenitally inaccurate. With much patience Professor Dunn examines this legend and shows how it has been repeated by various historians, Freeman, Fisher, Seignobos and James Ford Rhodes. In the bill of particulars, a certain description of the city of Adelaide, Australia, occurring in one of Froude's occasional papers, is constantly cited, which Professor Dunn shows is essentially correct in facts which were denied by his opponents. Professor Dunn proves that the charges of inaccuracy in respect to Froude's treatment of Carlyle's papers are substantially baseless. These papers were in longhand, copied by Mary Carlyle or by Froude himself. Mistakes in transcription occurred, and Professor Norton took pride in finding that in the first five pages of the "Reminiscences" there were 130 corrections to be made. Professor Dunn has collated Froude's edition of the sketch of Jane Carlyle with Norton's, and finds that, apart from matters of capitalization or punctuation, there are in the whole work seventeen possible misreadings of words, of which only two are of the slightest importance. Ruskin, who was devoted beyond all men to Carlyle, and also the intimate friend of Norton, blamed the latter for his "niggling and naggling" about Froude's misprints.

That Ruskin took the side of Froude from the beginning is clear from Ruskin's biographies; but how strongly he did so, Professor Dunn's book for the first time makes evident. He quotes an unpublished note to Froude:

> You were absolutely right to publish the "Reminiscences," and Miss Aitken was a mere selfish and proud and cowardly Scotch Molly Foulservice. I had quarreled with her myself long before you did. Ever your *unrepentant*
>
> Ruskin.

In respect to the facts of Carlyle's career, Professor Dunn gives Froude an equally complete bill of exoneration. Some years ago Mr. David Alec Wilson, who had entered the controversy in 1898 with "Mr. Froude and Carlyle," began the publication of a biography of Carlyle which has now advanced to the fifth volume, with the definite objective of replacing Froude. Professor Dunn shows, as anyone can see for himself, that the discrepancies of fact between the two are slight. In regard to emphasis and interpretation, however, the difference is very great. When Froude's children, goaded by the renewed attacks from Alexander Carlyle and his assistants, published their father's pamphlet, "My Relations with Carlyle," it became evident, as had been long suspected, that Froude wrote his biography, so largely concerned with the fortunes of two unhappy married people, in the belief that Carlyle was physically impotent. It was this belief which surrounded Froude's story of Carlyle with a somber and sinister atmosphere. The publication of the "Relations" revived the entire controversy with all the old charges against Froude of inaccuracy, indiscretion and treachery. Evidence, circumstantial and professional, was introduced as to Carlyle's virility. Mr. Wilson's biography with its abundance of reminiscences gleaned at first, second or third-hand, is designed to dissipate the clouds that Froude has hung about the master, and show him as a normal man in the sunlight of God, with a sickly, rather querulous wife. It may be said that the sexual life of the Carlyles concerned themselves alone; but as Wilson has observed:

> Nobody can deny that the discussion of sexual topics in a biography is detestable. It is equally plain, however, that if a great teacher of clean living, such as he was, is plausibly alleged to have been impotent, or in older phrase a born eunuch, and, therefore, a man who was not exposed to temptation like other men, the statement diminishes the value of his teaching if it is true, and, therefore, if it is false should be disproved.

Professor Dunn sums up the evidence on this point, and adds new testimony, which in view of its source must be regarded as conclusive. Dr. W. J. Richardson, who attended Mrs. Carlyle at Tunbridge Wells, informed his relative John Ruskin and his mother that Carlyle's marriage had never been consummated. Froude was aware of this evidence, but refused to compromise Ruskin's cousin for an undoubted breach of medical etiquette by using it in his pamphlet. Professor Dunn adds that "Mrs. Joan Ruskin Severn verified Ruskin's statements over her own signature." It is unfortunate that he does not print this confirmation, which he assures the present reviewer he has received from Mrs. Severn in private correspondence.

With Professor Dunn's vindication, Froude's "Life of Carlyle" emerges from the shadow of distrust that has long hung over it. It will be read in future as the sincere tribute of a disciple who was not blind to his master's failings. It was one of the charges leveled by Norton that Froude was a Mr. Facing-Both-Ways, praising Carlyle while introducing documents which belied his eulogy. This procedure, which shocked the naïve generation for which Froude wrote, can be better understood today. Froude's biography will be read as a document of the Victorian Age, based on most extraordinarily complete records of two Victorian lives. It will be reckoned as the third in the series of biographies begun by Boswell and continued by Lockhart, and as the forerunner of modern biography in its characteristics of realism, frankness and psychological interpretation.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT.

Porto Rico

Porto Rico and Its Problems, by Dr. Victor S. Clark and Associates. Washington: The Brookings Institution. 707 pages. $5.

THERE is no colonial dependency in the world which presents more pressing social problems than the island of Porto Rico. For thirty years the United States has closed its eyes to these problems, which meanwhile have grown steadily worse. The hope that a solution would finally be found was created by the announcement two years ago that the Brookings Institution would make a thorough survey of the Island. With the publication of the Brookings report, these hopes are sorely disappointed.

This report is fundamentally defective because of its failure to see the political and social problems of Porto Rico in all of their ramifications—as a unified whole. The Brookings commission included an imposing array of experts—authorities on agriculture, commercial organization, fiscal administration, credit and banking facilities. But, judging by the report, it contained no members who understood the general problem of colonial government or who had any very deep understanding of (not to mention sympathy for) the aspiration of the Porto Rican people.

The commission attacked the problem of Porto Rico very much as a staff of cost accountants would examine the operation of a wholesale dry-goods store. There are

many erudite chapters in this book devoted to technical subjects. The chapters devoted to finance, public work and to certain aspects of agriculture seem particularly well done. One of the best sections in the work is the appendix by a Porto Rican, José C. Rosario, on the Porto Rican peasant. Many of the recommendations of the commission are valuable, such as the suggestion that the federal government should contribute to local education. Nevertheless, the book as a whole seems repeatedly to misplace the emphasis. For example, 175 pages are devoted to a detailed examination of finance, but only one page to the political parties, only two pages to the autonomy issue, and only two sentences to the important question of elections. It is impossible for the reader, from reading the description of the Porto Rican government, to determine just what responsibilities are already imposed upon Porto Ricans; nor is it possible to find an adequate statement of Porto Rican criticisms of the present form of administration, or of their hopes for the future.

Although the commission is composed largely of economists, it does not hesitate to make the most sweeping recommendations in regard to the political system or to education. Thus, it recommends the abolition of the Senate's power over executive appointments and of the present system of municipal government, and it rejects the weighty recommendation of the Monroe educational commission in favor of teaching Spanish (rather than English) in the early grades. These recommendations are made in the interest of "efficiency"; but all of them, if adopted, would postpone the day when the people of Porto Rico would become self-governing.

From the economic and social standpoint, the Brookings report is even more vulnerable. It recognizes that the social condition of the Porto Rican people is critical; but it refuses to confront the causes of the situation or the fundamental remedies. There is no single solution of the Porto Rican problem, but two of the fundamental measures would be to give Porto Rico tariff autonomy, thus allowing her to buy cheaper food and to develop her Caribbean trade, and to bring about agrarian reform. Both of these measures would seriously injure vested American interests; whether or not because of this reason, they are not even adequately discussed in the Brookings report. The philosophy of the report is contained in the following sentence: "The utmost freedom should be given corporations to become efficient agencies of production, but the corporations should contribute a full share of the wealth they produce to the general welfare."

As long as the corporations pay taxes, the commission does not desire to interfere with the present system of absentee landlordism which has converted the island into a land of serfs. It refuses to consider the possibility of developing coöperative sugar centrals, on the ground that they have failed elsewhere. But the report ignores entirely the experience of the Philippines with coöperative centrals, as well as Governor Stimson's general economic policy. The commission has no words of criticism for the failure to enforce the 1900 land law limiting foreign holdings to 500 acres. On the contrary—and despite the fact that agrarian reforms have swept the world in the last ten years—it calmly asserts that this law should be repealed!

This report should be a warning to those who pin their hopes for salvation upon research—especially coöperative research—in the social sciences. Such research will serve a high purpose only when it is carried on by men capable of unified thought and motivated by a thoroughgoing social philosophy.

RAYMOND L. BUELL.

The Excavations at Ur

Dead Towns and Living Men, by C. Leonard Woolley. New York: Oxford University Press. 259 pages. $2.

Ur of the Chaldees: A Record of Seven Years of Excavation, by C. Leonard Woolley. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 210 pages. $2.50.

THESE two popular volumes by a world-famous archæologist form an excellent pair offered in most timely season. Newspaper accounts of the marvelous discoveries at Ur, transient though such accounts must be, still ring in the public ear. Something between these and the technical volumes in which archæologists will soon read and appraise processes and results is a welcome offering to an interested and cultured public. Men will read with unflagging pleasure this popular and romantic account of Mr. Woolley's discoveries at Ur, the greatest of which came only as the long awaited climax of seven years of patient and well directed effort of the joint expedition of the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia.

The general public knows Ur of the Chaldees only from the Bible, as the place where Abraham sets out on his momentous migration to Canaan. The archæologist has known it vaguely for a generation past as one of the mounds of southern Babylonia entombing prehistoric cities from which a few fragments of long buried art and literature had come to light, but which could not be fully explored until a more enlightened government controlled the Near East, and an awakened public interest should supply the financial backing for systematic and scientific excavation. Those who read this brief and vivid account of the work and its results will agree that these have amply repaid the long delay and the patient search.

The picture which Woolley's discoveries enable him to paint of Sumerian civilization in days long antedating the biblical flood is nothing short of amazing. The illustrations exhibit painted pottery, flint implements and clay models of tools, showing a comparatively rude agricultural civilization in the lower Euphrates valley not later than 3,200 B. C. Superimposed upon this stratum came the rich and long continued deposit of the Sumerians, an alien race, perhaps invading Mesopotamia from the valley of the Indus, whose history Woolley has given separately in a volume entitled "The Sumerians." The extraordinary richness of their art and some suggestions of their customs and religious beliefs were revealed in the royal tombs unrifled of their masses of gold and jewelry, their furniture, jeweled harps, gaming-boards and similar articles, laid bare by the excavator under thirty feet of accumulated earth and debris. From Sumerian days down through Babylonian conquest, the ancient sanctuary of Ur was repeatedly rebuilt, coming to its final downfall only after Nebuchadnezzar had enlarged and beautified it for the last time. The desert soon engulfed it, hiding its marvelous history and art for another three thousand years.

"Dead Towns and Living Men" supplies an admirable companion piece to the story of Woolley's archæological discoveries. It tells a story of adventure not less revealing as autobiography than that of Woolley's former associate, companion-pupil of Hogarth at the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford and lieutenant at the excavations at Carchemish at the outbreak of the War, Thomas Lawrence, now known only as "Shaw," with whose exploits as leader of the Arab revolt in Transjordan the ears of the world are still tingling. Woolley has nothing to tell about these. Lawrence in these pages is simply the ef-

ficient friend and daring lieutenant on the staff of archæologists in charge of a work of excavation in dangerous proximity to that of German engineers building the Bagdad railway. But the relation to "living men," natives of the country, exhibited on the one side and the other, is a veritable key to the almost incredible success of the two young English archæologists, widely as their paths were destined to diverge when the War drove both into military service.

Woolley's book was first written in a Turkish prison camp to while away the tedium of British prisoners of war. It is a narrative scarcely less thrilling than those of Lawrence, all combining to throw light on the kind of man who succeeds in dealing with the common people of alien soils by genuine human brotherliness, faith and good faith, instead of suspicion and double dealing. When first published, more than ten years ago, the book soon ran out of print and was forgotten. Mr. Woolley now issues this "American edition" because on his recent visit to America he found the work unknown as well as unobtainable, and rightly judges that the American public would be glad to have the story retold.

B. W. Bacon.

Here Is Thy Sting!

The Last Enemy, by Iris Barry. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. $2.50.

EVEN IF it were not from the pen of the film critic of The London Daily Mail, this would still be a curious and moving story. But, given Miss Barry's job, which consists in looking at hundreds of films a year, and writing about them and those who play in them for upwards of three million readers, this novel is an astounding witness to human versatility. It is all but incredible that the sensibility which could spin out of itself an atmospheric web as delicate and hushed as that in which this story is enveloped, should inhabit a being able to give the Hearsts of Britain a view of the films which they think suited to their readers.

The novel opens on a Saturday, at tea time, in the village of Hallam. Mr. Griffiths, the registrar of births, deaths and marriages, has had a quiet day, but in the main street there is a coming and going of housewives and children, clearing up the week-end shopping of the village families. Over the twilight tea we hear of Nurse Leyland and Dr. Rowe, of the doctor's son Roy, of old man Potter, who is taking an unconscionable time dying, and his granddaughter Susy, who is engaged to young Rowe. "I'm not really the sort of girl to make Roy happy," Susy tells the Griffiths; "or perhaps any man for that, being too hot as I am, up at a word, asking no better than that they'd use me as a doormat, and yet raising hell for a look." When Mr. Griffiths steps round to the pub that evening ("These entries on Saturdays, he knew by old experience, were always disappointing") he finds there the registrar from the neighboring parish, Burley. In neither parish, they observe, has there been an occasion to register a death in eight days—a fact without precedent. . . . Well, it won't hurt to give the show away: for days and days in the south of England not a single death from a natural cause is reported: death has ceased to be, the old will go on living, and the young and the new-born will assume the increasing burden of the years in a world overpopulated by weary, death-seeking, death-forbidden ancients. And in an atmosphere charged with the horror and terror of this thought, the familiar dramas of the village of Hallam, secret some, notorious others, but all interlocked, are played out. The newspapers play their part in the common concern with the unqualifiable mystery; the sky-writers, smoke steaming from their planes, continue to report no deaths; the black-clothed pulpiteers have at length their chance to be heard as medicine men were once heard. . . . There is an end to this mystery, an end intimately involving the villagers of Hallam.

Miss Barry has written a remarkable and very readable novel and has shown qualities of imagination, skill, assurance and compassion which make us look forward very eagerly to her future writing.

Lewis Galantière.

Tolstoy's Wife

The Diary of Tolstoy's Wife, 1860-1861. Translated from the Russian by Alexander Werth. New York: Brewer and Warren. 264 pages. $3.50.

The Countess Tolstoy's Later Diary, 1891-1897. Authorized translation from the Russian, with an introduction by Alexander Werth. New York: Brewer and Warren. 255 pages. $3.50.

THE DIARY of Sofie Andreyevna, Countess Tolstoy, exclusive of girlhood reminiscences, covers a period of thirty-five years: from 1862, the year of her marriage, to 1897. The entries are chronologically erratic, colorless in detail and completely humorless. Yet this journal is of extraordinary interest as a record of pathetic human inadequacy before the demands of the ideal, and as a tragic addendum to Tolstoy's long series of journals and confessions.

Sofie Andreyevna was a woman bourgeois rather than aristocratic in training and point of view. Intellectually limited, shrewd and unimaginative, she was capable of great affection and of loyalty even under great stress; she had tireless energy and a perfectly invulnerable egotism. This was the nature, more fortunately equipped for the task than may at first be supposed, which withstood through forty-eight years of married life the impact of one of the most intense, furiously productive and self-willed temperaments of modern times; this was the wife who lived, in turn, with the labors of Tolstoy the artist, and with the self-accusatory humility of Tolstoy the convert to Christ's word. It is little wonder that the diary closes upon a tired, aging woman, without will to live, at the verge of a permanent mental breakdown.

Sofie Andreyevna Behrs married Tolstoy when she was eighteen and he thirty-four. Tolstoy thought of himself at this time as already old, after the excesses and adventures of his youth, and hesitated to marry this young girl whose ignorance of life appealed to him so strongly. Before their marriage, prompted by the need for confession and by the self-scorn which was one of his most definitely marked traits, he gave her his diaries to read. Sofie never forgave him the details of the debaucheries recorded in these diaries. She many times recurs to the purity of her life as opposed to the license of his. She never realized that Tolstoy had a real passion to be understood and loved in spite of the brutality and sensuality which he knew to be part of himself, any more than, with her bourgeois aims and conviction, she appreciated Tolstoy's aristocratic instincts, which led him to turn from the culture of cities, to the estate at Yasnaya Polyana, where he had been born, and where he was able to live as a lord.

The conflict between the personalities of husband and wife began almost immediately after their marriage, although the battle was not joined during the first ten years. In fact, those years were by far the most peaceful and productive of Tolstoy's life. Then, at Yasnaya Polyana, he wrote "War and Peace" and "Anna Karenina." Sofie Andreyevna during this period bore and nursed seven children. She managed the household, and copied his manuscripts, page by page, in all their revisions. The diary shows her eager for love, jealous of his interests and affection, puzzled by his maddening contradiction of moods: the alternate elation and depression inevitable in so centered an artist.

When, in the late seventies and early eighties, Tolstoy experienced the first phases of the conversion which was eventually to turn him in revulsion from his children, from sexual love, from art, from all natural ties of the personality—to a frantic search after the kingdom of God on earth and universal love among men, Sofie Andreyevna bore the change with surprising fortitude. She had her young family to care for, and she took up one by one the increasing duties which, as Tolstoy relinquished them, fell upon her. Her greatest resentment was directed toward the crowd of followers that hailed Tolstoy as a new prophet, and it must be confessed that her attitude was not unjustified. Tolstoy, in going out to the people, attracted to himself a mixed group of enthusiasts (called by Sofie Andreyevna "the dark ones"), many of them psychopathic drifters ready to attach themselves to any creed which answered the confused needs of their manias. The Tolstoy household suffered real persecution at their hands.

In many situations, Countess Tolstoy showed herself unselfish and capable of courage. She went to the Tsar with her petition that the ban on "The Kreutzer Sonata" be lifted: the book which had attached so much gossip and scandal to her name. She struggled for years to make her personality felt in a family completely under the domination of her husband's agonized will. She saw the daily breakdown in practical application of Tolstoy's theories about the place of emotion and property in the good life; she was continually harassed by his alternating periods of passion and satiety. These two people, one a great artist, the other a woman of ordinary capabilities, were curiously alike in their ignorance of the most elementary factors that determine happiness in human life and marriage. The great wonder is that their relationship survived—that Tolstoy's threats of escape and his wife's gestures toward suicide were not carried out.

The account of the later years of the marriage is full of a truly murderous tone of hatred and ferocity. Sofie Andreyevna no longer speaks of the father of her thirteen children as Lyova; he becomes Lev Nikolaevich, an enemy and a stranger. Tolstoy the artist had disappeared into Tolstoy the doctrinaire, and the wife sixteen years younger than her husband found herself destitute of hope, of work and of love—suspicious, capable of only trumped-up interests, sunk in continual boredom. The wife of a man who had once wept on hearing music, but who now rushed from a room at its sound, crying, "What does this music want of me?" took her comfort in Mendelssohn's "Lieder ohne Wort." The young girl who, thirty-five years before, had written of her wedding journey . . . "a titled honeymoon couple, arriving in a new *dormeuse* driven by six horses, naturally created a sensation," writes on the last page of her journal, "I have just been telling my own fortune, and twice the cards showed *death*. . . . A little sooner or later, what does it matter?"

LOUISE BOGAN.

Money, by Karel Capek. Translated from the Czech by Francis P. Marchant, Dora Round, F. P. Casey and O. Vocadlo. New York: Brentano's. $2.50.

THE FANTASTIC prophet who wrote "R. U. R." and "The Makropolous Secret" has become in this new book of short stories the realistic portrayer of a cheerless world. Throughout, the prevailing notes are disillusion, frustration, renunciation. Whether it is Olga in "At the Castle" remaining in an intolerable situation through a sense of duty, or the old man in "The Shirts" prevented by his weakness and his dependence upon habit from dealing intelligently with a thieving servant, the problem is always that of the individual struggling feebly against circumstances and being defeated. The skill of the author lies in his capacity to create tragedy from the lives of the most ordinary people. Not one of the characters is especially admirable, but Capek succeeds in making them so real and their problems so universal that they take on significance through their tragedies. The most searching study of the group, the one which indicates the most profound understanding of a human being, is the story of the unattractive Helena. The sexual desires of this repressed maiden are veiled beneath an intellectual companionship until the true character of her relationship forces itself to the surface and destroys her philosophy. Every step in the transformation of this controlled Minerva into a desiring woman is traced with unerring penetration.

Capek's descriptions of nature are full of sensuous charm. Day and night, heat and cold, are depicted with vividness. In "The Tribunal," the idea of the story could only come into being on a night such as he describes: "No star supreme, no friendly sign; there is nothing, nothing but this frigid glare." In this void of "transparent whiteness," of "measureless and aching tension," the president of the court-martial questions the existence of law, justice, conscience and God. In a few pages the whole structure of organized society is made to tremble. In a less awe-inspiring setting the man would never have thought of questioning the validity of his standards.

PERSIS LANE.

Contributors

JOHN DOS PASSOS, novelist, poet and traveler, is the author of "Manhattan Transfer," "The 42nd Parallel" and other books.

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LEWIS GALANTIÈRE, critic, translator and New York banker, is the author of "France Is Full of Frenchmen."

LOUISE BOGAN, poet and critic, is the author of two books of verse, "Body of This Death" and "Dark Summer."

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